



JOHNSON'S LIFE OF MILTON.



Johnson's Lives of the Poets

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# Milton

*WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY*

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## INTRODUCTION.

JOHNSON'S *Lives of the Poets* were issued between 1779 and 1781. His original undertaking was merely to furnish short biographical prefaces to an edition of the poets from Cowley downwards, which in 1777 certain booksellers contemplated publishing. The task was one, says Macaulay (*Biography of Johnson*), "for which he was pre-eminently qualified. His knowledge of the literary history of England since the Restoration was unrivalled. That knowledge he had derived partly from books, and partly from sources which had long been closed; from old Grub Street traditions; from the talk of forgotten poetasters and pamphleteers who had long been lying in parish vaults; from the recollections of such men as Gilbert Walmesley, who had conversed with the wits of Button; Cibber, who had mutilated the plays of two generations of dramatists; Orrery, who had been admitted to the society of Swift; and Savage, who had rendered services of no very honourable kind to Pope. The biographer therefore sat down to his task with a mind full of matter. He had at first intended to give only a paragraph to every minor poet, and only four or five pages to the greatest name. But the flood of anecdote and criticism overflowed the narrow channel.



The work, which was originally meant to consist only of a few sheets, swelled into ten volumes, small volumes, it is true, and not closely printed. . . . The Lives of the Poets are, on the whole, the best of Johnson's works. The narratives are as entertaining as any novel. The remarks on life and on human nature are eminently shrewd and profound. The criticisms are often excellent, and even when grossly and provokingly unjust, well deserve to be studied. For, however erroneous they may be, they are never silly. They are the judgments of a mind trammelled by prejudice and deficient in sensibility, but vigorous and acute. They, therefore, generally contain a portion of valuable truth which deserves to be separated from the alloy ; and, at the very worst, they mean something, a praise to which much of what is called criticism in our time has no pretensions." As to the style of the work, Macaulay continues, "Since Johnson had been at ease in his circumstances he had written little and talked much. When, therefore, he, after a lapse of years, resumed his pen, the mannerism which he had contracted while he was in the constant habit of elaborate composition was less perceptible than formerly ; and his diction frequently had a colloquial ease which it had formerly wanted. The improvement may be discerned by a skilful critic in the *Journey to the Hebrides*, and in the *Lives of the Poets* is so obvious that it cannot escape the most careless reader."

Foremost in the rank of English poets of course stood Milton ; and if his life as written by Johnson is not among the best of the series, its inferiority lies not in want of completeness or thoroughness of research. To its author the task was no doubt less congenial than in

the case of any of the other great poets with whom he had to deal. A bigoted and extreme Tory, Johnson had to criticize the principles and political actions of one who held doctrines as extreme, if not as bigoted, in the opposite direction. A High Churchman of the most unbending type, he was called upon to pass in review writings violently latitudinarian, schismatic, and, as the *Treatise of Christian Doctrine* shows, scarcely to be reconciled with any form of received religion. Think of the horror and loathing with which Johnson must have regarded *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, *Eikonoklastes*, *Defence of the People of England*, tractates in which kingly power is banned with curses of malignant fierceness, in which Charles, the beloved idol of Johnson's veneration, is insulted, harried, scourged, his divinity ridiculed, his execution sanctified, his downfall made the subject of a song of triumph! How should Johnson not shudder at the *History of Reformation*, the *Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty*, denunciations of everything sacerdotal that from his early boyhood had been cherished as reverend, holy, sealed with the seal of God's institution and upholding! To him the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, which even to many of Milton's fellow-thinkers was a stumbling-block, must have read as blasphemous arrogance; the *Areopagitica*, in whose trumpet tones liberty of thought and speech is proclaimed as an indefeasible right, probably sounded as a blast of revolutionary special-pleading and unbridled license of argument; while could he have read the long lost *Treatise of Christian Doctrine*, with its Pantheistic Materialism, its heresy as to the Decalogue, its justification of Polygamy, it would no doubt have been branded

poem as an utterance of passion, or intense personal grief. . . . The intimacy and affection [between Milton and King] were considerable, but less perhaps than what bound Milton to other friends of his youth, of whom he has left no similar commemoration. They were certainly less than the intimacy and affection that bound him to one other friend of his youth, of whom he has left various commemorations. The bosom-friend of Milton's youth, his very friend of friends from his boyhood to the time of his Italian journey, was that Charles Diodati to whom are addressed two of his Latin Familiar Epistles, the First and Sixth of his Latin Elegies, and one Italian Sonnet, and whose death, as premature as King's, and but one year later, gave occasion to perhaps the most remarkable of all Milton's Latin poems, *Epitaphium Damonis*. Only the accident that these pieces to and about Diodati are in Latin and Italian has prevented the fact of Milton's paramount affection for that young half-Italian from being generally known, and has led to the idea that the unique friend of Milton's youth was Edward King of Christ's. The death of that young scholar, so melancholy in its mode, did indeed move Milton, as it must have moved many. Here was one fine young life cut short, recklessly cut short, when thousands of coarser lives were spared, and when England and the Church of England had need that the best only should be prolonged. The recollection of the face and voice of Edward King, and of hours spent in his society, would return at the news, and would mingle with the keen imagination of the last scene, when our meek praying figure was marked on the deck of the sinking ship, resigned amid the shrieks, the mad hur-

and the gurgling waters. What more natural than that Milton should throw his feelings on the event, and the whole train of thought which it suggested, into artistic form in a memorial form? This is precisely what *Lycidas* is. It is the same kind of tribute from a poet to the memory of a friend as a bust, with pedestal and bas-reliefs, would have been from a sculptor, or some thoughtful picture, of a few figures placed in a fit landscape or sea-view, would have been from a painter. Personal feeling is present, but it blends with, and passes into, the feeling of the artist thinking of his subject. (2) Johnson's criticism would abolish, by implication, all poetry whatsoever. In that crude sense of what is 'natural' which his criticism begs, all poetry is unnatural. No poem, even of passion, can possibly be 'natural' in the sense of being a record of the exact mental procedure consentaneous with, or appropriate to, the immediate moment of the passion. If passion 'runs not after remote allusions and obscure opinions,' if passion 'plucks no berries from the myrtle and ivy, nor calls upon Arethuse and Mincius,' neither does passion perform such simple acts of literary art as the construction of clear sentences, the formation of lines of metre, or the invention of rhymes. Grief, in its first act, in poets as in other people, consumes itself in 'Ohs' and 'Ahs,' in sobs and agitated gestures, in dull numbed musings, incoherent verbal bursts, paces of the chamber through the weary night. To poets, however, as soon as there is a lull of comparative tranquillity, and aiding perhaps to bring on that lull, there comes the use of those artifices of expression which are with them hardly artifices any longer, but the very habits of their minds.

Then is produced the lay of the occasion, the song or longer poem, recording the grief indeed, and even renewing and deepening it, but weaving into the grief all the beauty of cognate story and meditation that it will bear. True, there will still be gradations of apparent closeness to the primary moment or remoteness from it, according either to the intensity of the original grief or to the poet's acquired habits of artistic working. Simplest of all, least removed of all from the original moment of feeling, and therefore most likely in some poets, and most natural in seeming to most readers, will be the direct lyric of sorrow in a few passionate stanzas. Burns's *Highland Mary*, and other songs of his, are examples. But there may be memorial poems, tributes to a recent or past personal grief, which shall be as true and natural, and yet be of more extensive design and more complex feature. These may contain trains of varied thought and phantasy which the original feeling has originated, and therefore may claim as its own; they may be speculative and occult, or figurative and mythological, as the habits of the poet's thinking may determine; even Mincius and Arethuse need not be absent, nor rough satyrs and fauns with cloven heel. Witness Shelley's *Adonais* to the memory of Keats. Or witness Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. What is that chief of memorial poems in the English tongue but an aggregation of lyrics in which, though one deep and enduring personal feeling moved to them all and pervades them all, 'remote allusions and obscure opinions,' beyond the learning of Johnson's time, are plentifully interwoven, snatches of story occur and recur, and all the science and metaphysics of the time become relevant to one death?

Now Milton's *Lycidas* is not, and does not profess to be, a poem of such personal sorrow, by many degrees, as *In Memoriam*. Nay, as Edward King was not a Keats, it is presumably less a poem of personal sorrow than *Adonais*. All the more are the traces of deliberate and conscious art which are visible in it to be regarded as consistent with the poet's actual kind and amount of feeling when he wrote it, and his true intention. There are such traces. Twice in the body of the poem, as we have seen, Milton restrains or checks himself, as having passed somewhat the strict bounds of the strain in which he had begun; and at the close there is an epilogue, in his own name, characterising the poem as a 'Doric lay,' in which 'the tender stops of various quills' had been touched, and also hinting that the artist is moving on to other themes, which will require a different treatment.

(3) One established, and indeed prevalent, artifice in the poetry of Milton's day was the artifice of the pastoral form, and Johnson's criticism exhibits an utter obtuseness to the real nature, meaning, and power of this artifice. 'They never drove a-field and they had no flocks to batten!' No, nor did Theocritus or Virgil ever keep sheep, or pipe on oaten flutes beneath the beech-trees. Nor did the Portuguese pastoral poets do the like, nor Sannazaro and the Italians. Nor was Spenser a real Colin Clout, with Sidney, and Raleigh, and Shakespeare, and all the other poets, or other eminent Englishmen of the day, surrounding him as actual shepherds, called Astrophel, and Cuddie, and Willie, and Thomalin! What then? We know what they meant. It is one thing to hold that the pastoral form might still suit our modern times, and to wish that

it were preserved ; it is another to understand what the form was in the hands of those who did practise it, and to see its importance in the past history of our literature. Spenser and the other pastoralists would have smiled in scorn at the notion that the pastoral should be an exhibition of real shepherd-life, of the thoughts and manners of real shepherds. With them the pastoral form was a device,—just as metre and rhyme were devices, but in some respects of larger consequence,—for distancing *themselves* from the ordinary and prosaic, and enabling them to live and move mentally in a more poetic air. It was *themselves*, with all their experiences and acquired ideas and feelings, that they flung into an imaginary Arcadian world to be shepherds there, and, under the guise of that imaginary life, express their own real feelings, their most intimate experiences, and their thoughts about affairs, in monologue or dialogue. Defensible or not originally, desirable or not among ourselves, as we may think this artifice of pastoralism, this device for poets of an imaginary removal of themselves into an Arcadian land in order to think under Arcadian conditions, it is gross ignorance not to know how largely it once prevailed, and what a wealth of old poetry we owe to it. From the youth of Spenser, himself the pastoralist-in-chief, on through the lives of the next generation, or from 1580 to 1640, much of the finest English poetry is in the pastoral form. During that period the word ‘shepherd’ was an accepted synonym in England for the word ‘poet.’ They all, the finest of them all, ‘drove a-field’ together, and ‘battened their flocks’ in verse, though they had no flocks to batten. Milton, an admirer of Spenser, and describable as the

truest of the Spenserians till he taught the world a higher than the Spenserian in the Miltonic, employed the pastoral form in his *Lycidas*, as he had employed it already, though less decidedly, in others of his poems. He threw the story of his acquaintance with Edward King and of the sad death of that youth by drowning, and all the train of thought about the state of England which that death suggested, into the form of a pastoral lament for that shepherd, conceived as spoken by himself as a surviving shepherd. And who would wish now that he had done otherwise? What would a simple narrative of the shipwreck, or a few stanzas of direct regret, have been in comparison with the poem we now read? It is better than any memorial bust with bas-reliefs, better than any memorial picture. It tells the facts with the minutest fidelity, but it gives them in the setting of one long mood of Milton's mind as he mused over them. And it is this setting that has made the facts immortal. If we now remember Edward King of Christ's College at all, or know that there was ever such a youth in the world, is it not owing to Milton's monody?" Of Johnson's criticism of the diction, the rhymes, and the numbers, Masson observes, "The ear of the eighteenth century, one can see, if this is to be taken as the opinion of Johnson's contemporaries, must have been vitiated in proportion to the degradation of its notion of poesy. For fastidious beauty of diction, and musical finish of versification, *Lycidas* is hardly rivalled. The art of the verse is a study in itself. The lines are mostly the common Iambics of five feet, but every now and then there is an exquisitely managed variation of a short line of three Iambi. Then the interlinking a



and at another immaterial, Hallam thus replies\* :  
 "Johnson thinks that Milton should have secured the consistency of this poem by keeping immateriality out of sight, and enticing his reader to drop it from his thoughts. But here the subject forbid him to preserve consistency, if indeed there be inconsistency in supposing a rapid assumption of form by spiritual beings. For though the instance that Johnson alleges of inconsistency in Satan's animating a toad was not necessary, yet his animation of the serpent was absolutely indispensable. And the same has been done by other poets, who do not scruple to suppose their gods, their fairies or devils, or their allegorical personages, inspiring thoughts, and even uniting themselves with the soul, as well as assuming all kinds of form, though their natural appearance is not always anthropomorphic. And, after all, Satan does not animate a real toad, but takes the shape of one. 'Squat like a toad close by the ear of Eve.' But he does enter a real serpent, so that the instance of Johnson is ill chosen. If he had mentioned the serpent, every one would have seen that the identity of the animal serpent with Satan is part of the original account."

One question, incidentally noticed by Johnson, the question whether Milton, in his *Paradise Lost*, owed much to ancient or contemporary writings, has of late years been brought prominently into discussion by the claim especially made in behalf of the Dutch Vondel. Earlier criticism had discovered, as it thought, plagiarism various in kind from various sources. Voltaire, in 1727 suggested that the scheme of the poem might have been

\* *Literary History*, iv. 239, 40, f.n.

derived from a Scriptural drama, entitled *Adamo*, by an Italian, Giovanni Battista Andreini; and in 1730 a Scotchman, William Lauder, published a volume to prove that Milton had ransacked modern and mediæval literature for ideas and language. Lauder's charges were quickly exposed, and afterwards confessed to be for the most part forgeries. But the indebtedness of Milton continued to be a subject of discussion; the *Paraphrase of Genesis* by the Anglo-Saxon poet Cædmon being among the sources from which he was supposed to have drawn, while Todd, in his edition of the Poetical Works, gave a long list of Italian writers to whom by one person or another it was supposed that the poet had gone for his inspiration. Of late all these borrowings, the proofs of which are no proofs, have given place to the more definite and circumstantial charges of plagiarism from Vondel's *Lucifer*, which, first broached in England in Gosse's *Studies in the Literature of Northern Europe*, 1875, were in 1885 elaborated in a volume, entitled *Milton and Vondel*, by a clergyman of the name of Edmundson. According to this work, the design, language, ideas, imagery, and character of *Paradise Lost* owe large debts not only to Vondel's *Lucifer*, but to an epic, written in 1662, to a long didactic poem, published in 1661, and to a tragedy in 1661, all by the same author. A patient and searching examination of the charges as thus arrayed will be found in Masson's Introduction to *Paradise Lost*, ii. pp. 145-61. This examination is of course too long to be followed throughout. But the gist of the conclusions, which seem to me unanswerable, may be given in two short extracts. "Most of the parallelisms," he says, p. 151, "more than nineteen-twentieths of them I

may say at once, are disposed of at first sight by simple consideration, already insisted on, of the literary character of the themes of the two poets, the established tradition in the mind of Christendom of certain personages, incidents, and situations, as he alludes to these themes by Biblical and prescriptive names, Lucifer, Beelzebub, Belial, Gabriel, Michael, and so forth, were common property; and if a poet introduced Satan or Beelzebub, Gabriel or Michael, into a poem, he could do but make them look and speak, to the best of his ability, in conformity with general expectation. The Angelic Wars in Heaven, the rout of the fallen Angels, their expulsion into Hell, their winging their way upwards again through the spaces of the new Cosmos, the Ptolemaic constitution of this Cosmos, the infant Earth in the midst of it, and Adam and Eve on this earth in their Paradise of foliage and beauty, were also common property; and, if any poet wrote on these subjects, he had similarly to conform to tradition and expectation in essentials, whatever freedom of picturing or of wording his genius might claim for him to effect in particulars." "Having given," pp. 163, 4, "some specimens of Mr. Edmundson's collection of parallelisms, I may add that I have not in all the rest of the collection a single parallelism which could convince me of a direct use by Milton in *Paradise Lost* of any passage in Vondel. My impression, indeed, after considering all the parallelisms proposed by Mr. Edmundson, is that it would be quite possible to maintain the extreme position that *Paradise Lost* have been exactly the same as it is if Vondel

existed. That position, however, might be too extreme. Mr. Gosse thinks that Vondel's *Lucifer* was known to Milton; and Mr. Gosse's opinion on such a subject, taken along with the already explained historical probabilities of the case, ought to count for something. Let the vote, then, be that Milton did somehow contrive, amid the difficulties of his blindness, to superimpose upon all the mass of his previous readings from his youth onwards some new readings in the *Lucifer*, and in other poems, of his celebrated Dutch contemporary. That is all that is needed; and it is a very different speculation from Mr. Edmundson's. The matter of a man's reading, in any day or week of his life, does not remain distinct from his mind as already constituted, or only as something additional that his mind can thenceforth work upon, it is necessarily, like all his other new experiences, transmuted, there and then, into the very substance of his mind, modifying the very structure of his thinking faculty for all its future operations of reasoning, imagining, or whatever else. In this sense only,—that, when any mind is stirred, all its contents are stirred,—is there any worth whatever, I believe, in any theory of Milton's indebtedness to any particular author; and all speculations as to Milton's indebtedness to particular authors in any other and less honourable sense have in them, I believe, whether they know it or not, the transmitted taint of the wretched Lauder — and are doomed inevitably to the fate that attended their prototype."

In the Notes, as well as in this Introduction, we have found abundant evidence of my obligations to Professor Masson's edition of Milton's *Poems* and to his *Life of Milton*.

To the latter work especially I owe a great deal more than can be shown by quotations; and I feel it to be something like an impertinence to express my admiration for the learning, research, accuracy, and completeness which mark its every page.

To my friend Mr. Maurice Macmillan I also owe my best thanks for the care with which, as in the case of my school editions of plays of Shakespeare, he has read the proof sheets, and for the many valuable suggestions he has been kind enough to make.

## SUMMARY OF JOHNSON'S MILTON.

### I. LIFE OF MILTON (pp. 1-50).

**Milton's Family** (pp. 1, 2), landed proprietors in Oxfordshire His grandfather, a forest-keeper, a zealous Papist, his father, disinherited for changing his religion, a scrivener, skilful in music; his brother, Christopher, suffered as a Royalist, and knighted by James II, his sister Anne, married Edward Philips; the poet, born in Bread Street, 1608.

**Education** (pp. 2-4).—Privately instructed by Thomas Young; at St. Paul's School by Mr. Gill, at Christ's College, Cambridge (1624-1632), taking B.A. in 1628 and M.A. in 1632. "Eminently skilled" in Latin at 16, but compositions inferior to those of Cowley.

*Johnson*—His early works raise no great expectations

*Elegies* (1625-6) show classic elegance Left Cambridge with no kindly feelings, said to have suffered corporal punishment, and to have been expelled. Hostility to Cambridge shown in *Tractate* and *Way to remove Hirelings* Went to Cambridge with intention to enter Church, but refused to do so because of the oath of servitude.

*Johnson*—Thoughts of obedience to rules raised his indignation.

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Residence at Horton (pp. 4-6), 1632-8, extensive reading of Latin and Greek. *Comus* (1634) acted by Earl of Bridgewater's family at Ludlow. *Lycidas* (1637), elegy on death of Mr. King, displays acquaintance with Italian writers and malignity to the Church. *Arcades*, used as part of a dramatic entertainment.

Travels (pp. 6-8), under Sir H. Wotton's directions; visited Paris (met Grotius), Florence for two months (his compositions applauded), Sienna, Rome (kindly received and praised by learned and great), Naples (met Manso, patron of Tasso).

*Johnson*.—All his writings show a lofty and steady confidence in himself, and perhaps some contempt of others. He rarely bestows praise.

Political affairs prevented him from going on to Sicily and Greece. Returning he visited Rome, Florence, Lucca, Venice, and Geneva. *Epitaphium Damonis* in honour of his friend Diodati.

Milton as a Schoolmaster (pp. 8-11, 16).

(a) In St. Bride's Churchyard, teaching his sister's sons (1638).

(b) In Aldersgate Street, taking more boys (1639).

Johnson criticises the suggested cause of Milton's return to England, defends him as a schoolmaster, doubts the story of wonders performed at his school, compares his plan to Cowley's, advocates the study of history, truth, and reason in preference to external nature, declares Socrates opposed to Milton as a teacher, approves of the teaching of religion, and of Milton's example to his pupils.

(c) In the Barbican (1645-7).

For a time he sheltered his wife's relations. Phillips tries to prove that Milton was not a schoolmaster by profession, and that he had intended to become a soldier. Johnson replies with sarcasm.

Controversial Writings (pp. 11-15, 17-23).

(a) *Religion*. *Treatise on Reformation* (1641), intended to help the Puritans. Bishop Hall published *A Short Remonstrance* in defence of Episcopacy. Six ministers (Smectymnus) answered Hall (1641). Bishop Usher attempted a *Confutation* of Smectymnus. *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* (1641) was Milton's reply to Usher. The lengthy title displays "puritanical savageness of manners."

1642 *The Reason of Church Government* and two more pamphlets

Johnson.—He confidently but unostentatiously shows his high opinion of his own powers.

In one pamphlet Milton defends himself from the charge of being "vomited from the University." His language is offensive and malignant.

(b) *Marriage and Divorce*. *Marriage* (1643), with Mary Powell, who left him after a month. *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, *The Judgment of Maria Dyer* (1644); *Tetrachordon* (1645).

Prosecution by the Assembly of Divines and general contempt shown to his doctrines turned Milton against the Presbyterians. Reunion with his wife effected by her friends.

(c) *Liberty of Printing*. *Areopagitica* advocates liberty of printing. Johnson gives reasons against it. *Allegro* and *Penseroso* were published in 1645.

(d) *The King's Death*. A *Treatise* justifying the king's death; *Remarks on Ormond's Articles of Peace*; *Iconoclastes*, an attack on *Icon Basilike*. Salmasius published *Defensio Regis* (1649) by order of Charles II. Milton's *Defensio Populi* (1651) replied, ridiculing the Latin of Salmasius. Milton's pamphlet was the more popular. Salmasius died before his reply was completed. Milton received £1000, and though his sight was failing, he continued to be Cromwell's Latin secretary, and to engage in controversy.

His first wife died (1653). Second marriage (1656). Second wife died "within a year."

Schemes (pp. 23-27).

(a) A Latin Dictionary, left unfinished.

(b) A History of England, stopped at the Conquest.

(c) An Epic Poem, resulted in *Paradise Lost*. Johnson gives copies of two plans left in manuscript. Blindness could not obstruct his power of invention. The indulgence of his fancy was a solace to his solitude in blindness.

Two pamphlets against the Clergy (1658).

Restoration (pp. 27-31). *Ready and easy way to establish a Free Commonwealth*. *Notes on a Sermon*, answered by *No Blind Guides*. The Restoration drove him into hiding. His *Defence* burnt by the hangman. Not mentioned in the exceptions to the act of oblivion. Burnet thinks he was forgotten. Prosecuted,—a tradition says he was saved by Davenant. In custody till November. Removed to Jewin Street. Married a third time. Being either prudent or grateful, he offered no opposition to the new settlement. *Accidence*

*commenced Grammar* (1661). Elwood the Quaker engaged by Milton to read Latin. Johnson discusses the Italian pronunciation.

The last residence of Milton, in Artillery Walk.

*Paradise Lost* (pp 32-40) Original design unknown, first conception was a dramatic work. Progress interrupted by private studies and state affairs. Philips says he composed most freely in winter. Milton's *Elegies* suggest the spring. Johnson describes and discusses the belief in the dependence of the soul upon seasons, the degeneracy of nature, and climate. He thinks Milton's belief not entirely unreasonable. Richardson suggests that Milton's poetical faculty acted spasmodically. Johnson disbelieves his account of Milton's methods. Internal evidence gives few indications of the times when the parts of *P.L.* were written. The third book refers to his blindness, the seventh to the Restoration. A reference to his treatment after the Restoration is quoted and criticised.

In the Plague year Milton retired to Chalfont. Here Elwood suggested *Paradise Regained*. Next year *Paradise Lost* was licensed for publication.

Account of the editions and sales down to 1690

Obstacles:—The Stuart Court, the paucity of readers, the ignorance of traders, gentlemen and women, recent enmity to the author, newness of the versification, timidity of its admirers, few opportunities of advertisement. The Revolution brought popularity to *Paradise Lost*.

Milton's expedient to supply his lack of sight inflicted misery on his daughters, who were compelled to read books in many languages.

## LIFE OF MILTON.

osing Years (pp. 41-44). *History of England*, 1669-70, mutilated by the licenser. Style harsh and unpleasing. *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* followed. *Paradise Regained* was his "last poetical offspring" and his favourite. His high opinion of it is not shared by Johnson. The poet is entitled to admiration for condescending to write a manual of Logic (1672). *Treatise of True Religion*, a modestly written tract, advocating toleration to all except Papists, and recommending diligent perusal of the Scriptures. Reprint of juvenile poems. *Familiar Epistles* in Latin. A quiet death in 1674. Burial in St. Giles at Cripple-gate; a monument in the Abbey erected, after opposition, in Johnson's time.

Milton as a Man (pp. 44-48). Handsome in face, light hair, medium height, active in frame, eyes quick but not bright.

A severe student, moderate in appetite, passing his days of blindness with great regularity.

Devoted his estate to the service of Parliament, for a time neglected, then Latin Secretary at a salary, was paid for political writings.

A reader of all learned and polite languages, highly skilled in Latin and Italian, fond of Spenser, Shakespeare, and Cowley.

A Calvinist in early life, then changeable, thinking rather to condemn than to approve. With profound belief in Providence he displayed no visible worship, public or private. Johnson condemns his neglect of family prayer.

"An acrimonious and surly republican," opposed monarchy as not being frugal. Johnson attributes

this to envy, petulance, and pride. His arbitrary rule at home did not correspond with his professed love of liberty. He seemed to look on woman with contempt.

*Family History* down to 1690 (pp. 48-50).

## II. POETICAL WORKS (pp. 50-74).

### Juvenile Poems (pp. 50-56).

- (a) *Italian*, have been commended.
- (b) *Latin*, "Insciously elegant," delightful rather for beauty of verse than for originality or vigour.
- (c) *English*, show evidence of genius by being original, but this is their only excellence. Milton could not do little things with grace.

*Lycidas*, harsh diction, uncertain rhymes, unpleasing numbers, unnatural sentiments, destitute of nature and truth, of art and novelty. The meaning of the allegory is too uncertain and too remote. The pastoral is too commonplace to arouse sympathy. Sacred truths are mingled with trifling fiction and irreverently handled, though perhaps not consciously. No man who did not know Milton could read *Lycidas* with pleasure.

*L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, "two noble efforts of imagination," always give pleasure to the reader. They are designed to show how every disposition of mind is attracted to that which will give it pleasure. The pleasure of the *cheerful* man and of the *pensive* man are delightfully contrasted, but perhaps melancholy can be distinguished in Milton's

## LIFE OF MILTON.

Closing Years (pp. 41-44). *History of England*, 1669-70, mutilated by the licenser. Style harsh and unpleasing. *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* followed. *Paradise Regained* was his "last poetical off-spring" and his favourite. His high opinion of it is not shared by Johnson. The poet is entitled to admiration for condescending to write a manual of logic (1672). *Treatise of True Religion*, a modestly written tract advocating toleration to all except Papists, and recommending diligent perusal of the Scriptures. Reprint of juvenile poems. *Familiar Epistles* in Latin. Quiet death in 1674. Burial in St. Giles at Cripplegate; a monument in the Abbey erected, after opposition, in Johnson's time.

Milton as a Man (pp. 44-48). Handsome in face, light hair, medium height, active in frame, eyes quick, not bright.

A severe student, moderate in appetite, passing days of blindness with great regularity.

Devoted his estate to the service of Parliament a time neglected, then Latin Secretary at a salary paid for political writings.

A reader of all learned and polite languages, skilled in Latin and Italian, fond of Spenser, Shakespeare, and Cowley.

A Calvinist in early life, then changeable, rather to condemn than to approve. With no belief in Providence he displayed no visible piety public or private. Johnson condemns his neglect of family prayer.

"An acrimonious and surly republican, frugal. Johnson

by Omnipotence only. Milton succeeded in employing these powerful agents.

### (ii) *The Fable.*

1. The characters.—Angels, good and evil. Man, innocent and sinful. The four good angels are suitably portrayed. Christ appears as some of Satan's speeches as impious, Johnson thinks there is little in them to excite pity. Milton's ferocity is manifestly displayed. Both the innocence and the guilty state of Adam and Eve are suitably shown by their language. The superiority of Adam is elegantly sustained in both states.

2. Parts of an epic poem,—the probable and the marvellous. The main fable is most interesting to all men at all times (Addison), the probable is marvellous and the marvellous is probable.

3. The machinery, i.e. the intervention of supernatural power. The visible control of Heaven appears in every action.

4. Episodes,—two only, introduced by Raphael and Michael. One is a necessary warning to Adam, the other a necessary consolation.

5. A complete design, as required by Aristotle's rules. The few digressions in *Paradise Lost* are too beautiful to be omitted.

6. Is this an heroic poem? Milton thus described it; Dryden denies the heroism of Adam because he fell; Johnson refutes Dryden because Adam was restored.

### (iii) *The Sentiments.*

In most cases perfectly appropriate. Instructive passages are rare. The aim is not to assist human



conduct, but to raise the thoughts above earth. Occasional thoughts indicate Milton's fervid and active imagination, continual study, and inquiring mind. "The characteristic quality of this poem is sublimity." Greatness and loftiness lift Milton above elegance and grace. The subject suited his powers. Nature and human life were too limited for him. He preferred possibility to reality; his imagination visited higher worlds. Hence descriptions of scenes of nature are not real nor original. "He saw nature through the spectacles of books" (Dryden). Similes few but varied, not confined to mere comparison.

Milton's moral sentiments excel those of ancient poets, who lacked the light of Revelation. His characters are greater, because they display Christian virtues. Sanctity of thought is everywhere displayed. "Sublimity is the general and prevailing quality in this poem."

The two human beings are tenderly affectionate and sublimely pious before their fall, venerable for dignity and innocence. After their fall they are humble without meanness, and again become worthy of reverence. The anguish after their fall is justly described.

#### (iv.) *Defects and Faults.*

Johnson's plan ignores verbal inaccuracies.

1. Inconvenience of plan, excluding human nature and manners. Hence the reader has little curiosity or sympathy.

2. The truths taught lack novelty, are neither new nor unexpected.

3 The solemnity of the subject obstructs rather than arouses imagination. The good and evil of eternity are too great for poetical treatment.

1. Milton has displayed the power of study and genius in accumulating and selecting materials to adorn his poem, and to present the subject in a new form with fresh adornments, but has not succeeded in supplying the want of human interest.

5. The agency of spirits is not consistent throughout. Philosophy has confused poetry by partially, but not wholly, investing the spirits with form and matter.

6. Allegorical persons having no real existence are introduced. The personification of Sin and Death is faulty. This "unskilful allegory" is one of the greatest faults.

7. A few errors in the narrative, and in the descriptions of man and animals before the fall.

8. Dryden remarks that the high level of excellence is not always maintained. Johnson considers that this is natural.

9. The "Paradise of Fools" is too ludicrous for this great work.

10. Too frequent play upon words; equivocations; improper use of terms of art; these are unimportant faults.

*Paradise Regained* (p 71), elegant, instructive. The dialogue requires the aid of action. It suffers in the general opinion by comparison with *Paradise Lost*.

*Samson Agonistes* (pp. 71, 72) has been too much admired.

Prejudice and bigotry made Milton prefer ancient tragedies to those of the French and English stage.

Blind admiration of Milton led to praise of unnecessary and useless intermediate parts of this drama.

Many beautiful passages but no connected plan. Milton not a dramatist, had not studied character by observation but from books. He had little experience of human nature.

General Remarks (pp. 72-74).

*Diction*, uniform throughout greater works, and peculiarly his own. His chief admirers attribute this to grandeur of ideas; Johnson to his love of foreign idiom. In his prose this is condemned, in his poetry it is admired. Style is not modified by the subject. Milton wrote no language, but formed a Babylonish dialect, harsh and barbarous in itself, but appearing graceful by the pleasure it conveys. Copiousness, variety, diligent selection of melodious words, are to be praised.

*Versification*. "English heroic verse without rhyme," probably in imitation of Italian verse. He thought rhyme not necessary to true poetry. Johnson considers the English language, being unmusical, requires the "music of metre." "The artifice of rhyme" makes each line a distinct system of sounds and preserves the music of the English heroic line. Blank verse "seems to be verse only to the eye," has not the ease of prose, nor the melody of numbers, and soon tires the reader. Milton is to be admired rather than imitated.

*Original Invention.* Milton copied Homer, who contrived the first epic poem, but "of all borrowers he is perhaps the least indebted." A confident thinker, disclaimful of help or hindrance. His writings are entirely his own work, performed in spite of great difficulties. Homer's epic excels that of Milton only by having preceded it.



## MILTON.

Life of Milton has been already written in so many  
 us, and with such minute inquiry, that I might perhaps  
 e properly have contented myself with the addition of  
 w notes to Mr Fenton's elegant Abridgement, but that  
 w narrative was thought necessary to the uniformity of  
 edition.

John Milton was by birth a gentleman, descended from  
 proprietors of Milton near Thame in Oxfordshire, one of  
 m forfeited his estate in the times of York and Lancaster  
 ich side he took I know not, his descendant inherited no  
 eration for the White Rose.

His grandfather John was keeper of the forest of Shotover,  
 aious papist, who disinherited his son because he had  
 aken the religion of his ancestors.

His father, John, who was the son disinherited, had recourse  
 is support to the profession of a scrivener. He was a man  
 ient for his skill in music, many of his compositions being  
 to be found, and his reputation in his profession was  
 that he was a great estate. He had

son addresses 29

He married  
 ntlewoman of the name of Caston, a Welsh family. By  
 m he had two sons, John the poet, and Christopher who  
 ied the law, and adhered, as the law taught him, to the  
 's party, for which he was a while persecuted, but having  
 is brother's interest, obtained permission to live in quiet.

ted himself so honourably by chance. For the accession of King James, he was King's a Judge; but, his constitution being too weak for, he retired before any disreputable compliances became necessary.

He had likewise a daughter Anne, whom he married with considerable fortune to Edward Philips, who came from Walsbury, and rose in the Crown-Office to be secondary; by she had two sons, John and Edward, who were educated the poet, and from whom is derived the only authentic account of his domestic manners.

John, the poet, was born in his father's house, at the Springale in Bread Street, Dec. 9, 1608, between six and seven of the morning. His father appears to have been very solicitous about his education: for he was instructed at first by private tuition under the care of Thomas Young, who was afterwards chaplain to the English merchants at Hamburgh; and of whom we have reason to think well, since his scholar considered him as worthy of an epistolary Elegy.

20 He was then sent to St. Paul's School, under the care of Mr. Gill; and removed, in the beginning of his sixteenth year, to Christ's College in Cambridge, where he entered a sizar, Feb. 12, 1624.

He was at this time eminently skilled in the Latin tongue; and he himself, by annexing the dates to his first compositions, a boast of which the learned Politian had given him an example, seems to commend the earliness of his own proficiency to the notice of posterity. But the products of his vernal fertility have been surpassed by many, and particularly by his contemporary Cowley. Of the powers of the mind it is difficult to form an estimate: many have excelled Milton in their first essays, who never rose to works like *Paradise Lost*.

30 At fifteen, a date which he uses till he is sixteen, he translated or versified two Psalms, 114 and 136, which he thought worthy of the public eye; but they raise no great expectations.

tions: they would in any numerous school have obtained praise, but not excited wonder.

Many of his elegies appear to have been written in his eighteenth year, by which it appears that he had then read the Roman authors with very nice discernment. I once heard Mr. Hampton, the translator of Polybius, remark what I think is true, that Milton was the first Englishman who, after the revival of letters, wrote Latin verses with classic elegance. If any exceptions can be made, they are very few; Huddon and Ascham, the pride of Elizabeth's reign, 10 however they may have succeeded in prose, no sooner attempt verses than they provoke derision. If we produced any thing worthy of notice before the elegies of Milton, it was perhaps Alabaster's *Roxana*.

Of these exercises, which the rules of the University required, some were published by him in his maturer years. They had been undoubtedly applauded, for they were such as *few can perform*; yet there is reason to suspect that he was regarded in his college with no great fondness. That he obtained no fellowship is certain; but the unkindness with 20 which he was treated was not merely negative. I am ashamed to relate what I fear is true, that Milton was one of the last students in either university that suffered the public indignity of corporal correction.

It was, in the violence of controversial hostility, objected to him, that he was expelled. This he steadily denies, and it was apparently not true; but it seems plain, from his own verses to Duclati, that he had incurred "Rustication;" a temporary dismission into the country, with perhaps the loss of a term.

30

This poem, which mentions his *exile*, proves likewise that it was not perpetual; for it concludes with a resolution of returning some time to Cambridge. And it may be conjectured from the willingness with which he has perpetuated the memory of his exile, that its cause was such as to



a period at which affairs were not yet very intricate, authors very numerous.

For the subject of his epick poem, after much deliberation, *long chusing, and beginning late*, he fixed upon *Paradise Lost*; a design so comprehensive, that it could be justified only by success. He had once designed to celebrate King Arthur, as he hints in his verses to Mansus: but *Arthur was reserved*, says Fenton, *to another destiny*.

It appears, by some sketches of poetical projects left in 10 manuscript, and to be seen in a library at Cambridge, that he had digested his thoughts on this subject into one of those wild dramas which were anciently called *Mysteries*; and Philips had seen what he terms part of a tragedy, beginning with the first ten lines of Satan's address to the Sun. These *Mysteries* consist of allegorical persons; such as Justice, Mercy, Faith. Of the tragedy or mystery of *Paradise Lost* there are two plans:

THE PERSONS.

- 20 Michael.  
Chorus of Angels.  
Heavenly Love.  
Lucifer.  
Adam, } with the Serpent.  
Eve, }  
Conscience.  
Death.  
Labour,  
Sickness,  
Discontent, } Mutes.  
Ignorance.  
30 with others;  
Faith.  
Hope.  
Charity.

THE PERSONS.

- Moses.  
Divine Justice, Wisdom,  
Heavenly Love.  
The Evening Star, Hesperus.  
Chorus of Angels.  
Lucifer.  
Adam.  
Eve.  
Conscience.  
Labour,  
Sickness,  
Discontent, } Mutes.  
Ignorance,  
Fear,  
Death;  
Faith.  
Hope.  
Charity.

## PARADISE LOST.

## THE PERSONS.

Moses, *speaking*, recounting how he assumed his true body; that it corrupts not, because it is with God in the tomb; declares the like of Enoch and Elijah; besides the purity of the place, that certain pure winds, dews, and clouds, preserve it from corruption: whence exhorts to the sight of God; tells they cannot see Adam in the state of innocence, by reason of their sin.

Justice, }  
Merry, } debating what should become of man, if he fall.  
Wisdom, }

10

Chorus of Angels singing a hymn of the Creation.

Heavenly Love. ACT II.

Evening Star.

Chorus sing the marriage-song, and describes Paradise.

## ACT III.

Lucifer, contriving Adam's ruin.

Chorus fears for Adam, and relates Lucifer's rebellion and fall. 20

## ACT IV.

Adam, } fallen.  
Eve, }

Conscience cites them to God's examination.

Chorus bewails, and tells the good Adam has lost.

## ACT V.

Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise.

———— presented by an angel with

Labour, Grief, Hatred, Envy, War, Famine, }  
Pestilence, Sickness, Discontent, Ignorance, } Mutes. 20  
Fear, Death.

To whom he gives their names. Likewise Winter, Heat, Tempest, &c.

Faith, }  
Hope, } comfort him, and instruct him.  
Charity, }

Chorus briefly concludes.

Latin, may so soon learn the sounds which every native gives it, that he need make no provision before his journey; and if strangers visit us, it is their business to practise such conformity to our modes as they expect from us in their own countries. Elwood complied with the directions, and improved himself by his attendance; for he relates, that Milton, having a curious ear, knew by his voice when he read what he did not understand, and would stop him, and open the most difficult passages.

- 10 In a short time he took a house in the Artillery Walk, leading to Bunhill Fields; the mention of which concludes the register of Milton's removals and habitations. He lived longer in this place than in any other.

He was now busied by *Paradise Lost*. Whence he drew the original design has been variously conjectured, by men who cannot bear to think themselves ignorant of that which, at last, neither diligence nor sagacity can discover. Some find the hint in an Italian tragedy. Voltaire tells a wild and unauthorised story of a farce seen by Milton in Italy, 20 which opened thus: *Let the Rainbow be the Fiddlestick of the Fiddle of Heaven*. It has been already shewn, that the first conception was a tragedy or mystery, not of a narrative, but a dramattick work, which he is supposed to have begun to reduce to its present form about the time (1655) when he finished his dispute with the defenders of the King.

- He long before had promised to adorn his native country by some great performance, while he had yet perhaps no settled design, and was stimulated only by such expectations as naturally arose from the survey of his attainments, and 30 the consciousness of his powers. What he should undertake, it was difficult to determine. He was long chusing, and began late.

While he was obliged to divide his time between the private studies and affairs of state, his poetical labour must have been often interrupted; and perhaps he did little more in that busy time than construct the narrative, adjust the

episodes, proportion the parts, accumulate images and sentiments, and treasure in his memory, or preserve in writing, such hints as books or meditation would supply. Nothing particular is known of his intellectual operations while he was a statesman; for, having every help and accommodation at hand, he had no need of uncommon expedients.

Being driven from all public stations, he is yet too great not to be traced by curiosity to his retirement; where he has been found by Mr Richardson, the fondest of his admirers, sitting *before his door in a grey coat of coarse cloth, in a warm sultry weather, to enjoy the fresh air; and so, as well as in his own room, receiving the visits of people of distinguished parts as well as quality*. His visitors of high quality must now be imagined to be few; but men of parts might reasonably court the conversation of a man so generally illustrious, that foreigners are reported, by Wood, to have visited the house in Bread Street where he was born.

According to another account, he was seen in a small house, *neatly enough dressed in black cloaths, sitting in a room hung with rusty green; pale but not cadaverous, with chalk stones in his hands*. He said, that if it were not for the gout, his blindness would be tolerable.

In the intervals of his pain, being made unable to use the common exercises, he used to swing in a chair, and sometimes played upon an organ.

He was now confessedly and visibly employed upon his poem, of which the progress might be noted by those with whom he was familiar, for he was obliged, when he had composed as many lines as his memory would conveniently retain, to employ some friend in writing them, having, at least for part of the time, no regular attendant. This gave opportunity to observations and reports.

Mr Philips observes, that there was a very remarkable circumstance in the composition of *Paradise Lost*, "which I have a particular reason," says he, "to remember, for whereas I had the perusal of it from the very beginning, he

years, as I went from time to time to visit him, in parcels of ten, twenty, or thirty verses at a time (which, being written by whatever hand came next, might possibly want correction as to the orthography and pointing), having, as the summer came on, not been shewed any for a considerable while, and desiring the reason thereof, was answered that his vein never happily flowed but from the Autumnal Equinox to the Vernal; and that whatever he attempted at other times was never to his satisfaction, though he courted his fancy never so much; so that, in all the years he was about this poem, he may be said to have spent half his time therein."

Upon this relation Toland remarks, that in his opinion Philips has mistaken the time of the year; for Milton, in his Elegies, declares that with the advance of the Spring he feels the increase of his poetical force, *redeunt in carmina cires*. To this it is answered, that Philips could hardly mistake time so well marked; and it may be added, that Milton might find different times of the year favourable to different parts of life. Mr. Richardson conceives it impossible that *such a work should be suspended for six months, or for one. It may go on faster or slower, but it must go on.* By what necessity it must continually go on, or why it might not be laid aside and resumed, it is not easy to discover.

This dependence of the soul upon the seasons, those temporary and periodical ebbs and flows of intellect, may, I suppose, justly be derided as the fumes of vain imagination. *Sapiens dominabitur astris*. The author that thinks himself weather-bound will find, with a little help from hellibore, that he is only idle or exhausted. But while this notion has possession of the head, it produces the inability which it supposes. Our powers owe much of their energy to our hopes; *possunt quia posse videntur*. When success seems attainable, diligence is enforced; but when it is admitted that the faculties are suppressed by a cross wind, or a cloudy sky, the day is given up without resistance; for who can contend with the course of Nature?

From such prepossessions Milton seems not to have been free. There prevailed in his time an opinion that the world was in its decay, and that we have had the misfortune to be produced in the decrepitude of Nature. It was suspected that the whole creation languished, that neither trees nor animals had the height or bulk of their predecessors, and that everything was daily sinking by gradual diminution. Milton appears to suspect that souls partake of the general degeneracy, and is not without some fear that his book is to be written in *an age too late* for heroick poesy.

Another opinion wanders about the world, and sometimes finds reception among wise men; an opinion that restrains the operations of the mind to particular regions, and supposes that a luckless mortal may be born in a degree of latitude too high or too low for wisdom or for wit. From this fancy, wild as it is, he had not wholly cleared his head, when he feared lest the climate of his country might be *too cold* for flights of imagination.

Into a mind already occupied by such fancies, another not more reasonable might easily find its way. He that could fear lest his genius had fallen upon too old a world, or too chill a climate, might consistently magnify to himself the influence of the seasons, and believe his faculties to be vigorous only half the year.

His submission to the seasons was at least more reasonable than his dread of decaying Nature, or a frigid zone, for general causes must operate uniformly in a general abatement of mental power, if less could be performed by the winter, less likewise would content the judges of his work. Among this lagging race of frosty grovellers he might still have risen *willingly let die*. However inferior to the heroes who were born in better ages, he might still be great among his contemporaries, with the hope of growing every day greater in the dwindle of posterity. He might still be the giant of the pygmies, the one-eyed monarch of the blind.

Of his artifices of study, or particular hours of composition, we have little account, and there was perhaps little to be told. Richardson, who seems to have been very diligent in his enquiries, but discovers always a wish to find Milton discriminated from other men, relates; that "he would sometimes lie awake whole nights, but not a verse could he make; and on a sudden his poetical faculty would rush upon him with an *impetus* or *æstrum*, and his daughter was immediately called to secure what came. At other times he would dictate perhaps forty lines in a breath, and then reduce them to half the number."

These bursts of lights, and involutions of darkness; these transient and involuntary excursions and retrocessions of invention, having some appearance of deviation from the common train of Nature, are eagerly caught by the lovers of a wonder. Yet something of this inequality happens to every man in every mode of exertion, manual or mental. The mechanick cannot handle his hammer and his file at all times with equal dexterity; there are hours, he knows not why, when his hand is out. By Mr. Richardson's relation, casually conveyed, much regard cannot be claimed. That, in his intellectual hour, Milton called for his daughter to secure what came, may be questioned; for unluckily it happens to be known that his daughters were never taught to write; nor would he have been obliged, as is universally confessed, to have employed any casual visitor in disburthening his memory, if his daughter could have performed the office.

The story of reducing his exuberance has been told of other authors, and, though doubtless true of every fertile and copious mind, seems to have been gratuitously transferred to Milton.

What he has told us, and we cannot now know more, is, that he composed much of his poem in the night and morning, I suppose before his mind was disturbed with common business; and that he poured out with great fluency his unpre-

## LIFE OF MILTON.

*meditated verse* Versification, free, like his, from the dis-  
recesses of rhyme, must, by a work so long, be made prompt  
and habitual; and, when his thoughts were once adjusted,  
the words would come at his command.

At what particular times of his life the parts of his work  
were written, cannot often be known. The beginning of the  
third book shews that he had lost his sight; and the Intro-  
duction to the seventh, that the return of the King had  
clouded him with discountenance; and that he was offended  
by the licentious festivity of the Restoration. There are no 10  
other internal notes of time. Milton, being now cleared  
from all effects of his disloyalty, had nothing required from  
him but the common duty of living in quiet, to be rewarded  
with the common right of protection: but this, which, when  
he shrank from the approach of his King, was perhaps more  
than he hoped, seems not to have satisfied him, for no sooner  
is he safe, than he finds himself in danger, *fallen on evil days*  
*and evil tongues, and with darkness and with danger compass'd*  
*round*. This darkness, had his eyes been better employed,  
had undoubtedly deserved compassion: but to add the  
mention of danger was ungrateful and unjust. He was fallen  
indeed on *evil days*; the time was come in which regicides  
could no longer boast their wickedness. But of *evil tongues*  
for Milton to complain required impudence at least equal to  
his other powers, Milton, whose warmest advocates must  
allow, that he never spared any asperity of reproach or  
brutality of insolence.

But the charge itself seems to be false, for it would be  
hard to recollect any reproach cast upon him, either serious  
or ludicrous, through the whole remaining part of his life 30  
He pursued his studies, or his amusements, without persecu-  
tion, molestation, or insult. Such is the reverence paid to  
great abilities, however misused, they who contemplated in  
Milton the scholar and the wit, were contented to forget the  
reviler of his King.

When the plague (1665) raged in London, Milton



His political notions were those of an acrimonious and surly republican, for which it is not known that he gave any better reason than that a *popular government was the most frugal; for the trappings of a monarchy would set up an ordinary commonwealth.* It is surely very shallow policy, that supposes money to be the chief good; and even this, without considering that the support and expence of a Court is, for the most part, only a particular kind of traffick, by which money is circulated, without any national impoverishment.

Milton's republicanism was, I am afraid, founded in an envious hatred of greatness, and a sullen desire of independence; in petulance impatient of controul, and pride disdainful of superiority. He hated monarchs in the state, and prelates in the church; for he hated all whom he was required to obey. It is to be suspected, that his predominant desire was to destroy rather than establish, and that he felt not so much the love of liberty as repugnance to authority.

It has been observed, that they who most loudly clamour for liberty do not most liberally grant it. What we know of Milton's character, in domestick relations, is, that he was severe and arbitrary. His family consisted of women; and there appears in his books something like a Turkish contempt of females, as subordinate and inferior beings. That his own daughters might not break the ranks, he suffered them to be depressed by a mean and penurious education. He thought woman made only for obedience, and man only for rebellion.

Of his family some account may be expected. His sister, first married to Mr. Philips, afterwards married Mr. Agar, a friend of her first husband, who succeeded him in the Crown-office. She had by her first husband Edward and John, the two nephews whom Milton educated; and by her second, two daughters.

His brother, Sir Christopher, had two daughters, Mary and Catherine, and a son Thomas who succeeded Agar in

the Crown-office, and left a daughter living in 1743 in Grosvenor-street.

Milton had children only by his first wife; Anne, Mary, and Deborah. Anne, though deformed, married a master-builder, and died of her first child. Mary died single. Deborah married Abraham Clark, a weaver in Spitalfields, and lived seventy-six years, to August 1727. This is the daughter of whom publick mention has been made. She could repeat the first lines of Homer, the *Metamorphoses*, and some of Euripides, by having often read them. Yet here incredulity is ready to make a stand. Many repetitions are necessary to fix in the memory lines not understood; and why should Milton wish or want to hear them so often? These lines were at the beginning of the poem. Of a book written in a language not understood, the beginning raises no more attention than the end; and as those that understand it know commonly the beginning best, its rehearsal will seldom be necessary. It is not likely that Milton required any passage to be so much repeated as that his daughter could learn it, nor likely that he desired the initial lines to be read at all, nor that the daughter, weary of the drudgery of pronouncing unideal sounds, would voluntarily commit them to memory.

To this gentlewoman Addison made a present, and promised some establishment, but died soon after. Queen Caroline sent her fifty guineas. She had seven sons and three daughters, but none of them had any children, except her son Caleb and her daughter Elizabeth. Caleb went to Fort St. George in the East Indies, and had two sons, of whom nothing is now known. Elizabeth married Thomas Foeter, a weaver in Spitalfields, and had seven children, who all died. She kept a petty grocers or chandlers shop, first at Holloway, and afterwards in Cock-lane near Shoreditch Church. She knew little of her grandfather, and that little was not good. She told of his harshness to his daughters, and his refusal to have them taught to write; and, in opposi-

tion to other accounts, represented him as delicate, though temperate, in his diet.

In 1750, April 5, Comus was played for her benefit. She had so little acquaintance with diversion or gaiety, that she did not know what was intended when a benefit was offered her. The profits of the night were only one hundred and thirty pounds, though Dr. Newton brought a large contribution; and twenty pounds were given by Tonson, a man who is to be praised as often as he is named. Of this sum one hundred pounds was placed in the stocks, after some debate between her and her husband in whose name it should be entered; and the rest augmented their little stock, with which they removed to Islington. This was the greatest benefaction that *Paradise Lost* ever procured the author's descendents; and to this he who has now attempted to relate his Life, had the honour of contributing a Prologue.

In the examination of Milton's poetical works I shall pay so much regard to time as to begin with his juvenile productions. For his early pieces he seems to have had a degree of fondness not very laudable: what he has once written resolves to preserve, and gives to the publick an unfinished poem, which he broke off because he was *nothing satisfied with what he had done*, supposing his readers less nice than himself. These preludes to his future labours are in Italian, Latin, and English. Of the Italian I cannot pretend to speak as a critick; but I have heard them commended by a man well qualified to decide their merit. The Latin pieces are lusciously elegant; but the delight which they afford is rather by the exquisite imitation of the ancient writers, by the purity of the diction, and the harmony of the numbers, than by any power of invention, or vigour of sentiment. They are not all of equal value; the elegies excell the odes; and some of the exercises on Gunpowder Treason might have been spared.

The English poems, though they make no promises of

Paradise Lost, have this evidence of genius, that they have a cast original and unborrowed. But their peculiarity is not excellence; if they differ from verses of others, they differ for the worse; for they are too often distinguished by repulsive harshness; the combinations of words are new, but they are not pleasing; the rhymes and epithets seem to be laboriously sought, and violently applied.

That in the early parts of his life he wrote with much care appears from his manuscripts, happily preserved at Cambridge, in which many of his smaller works are found as they 10 were first written, with the subsequent corrections. Such reliques shew how excellence is required; what we, hope ever to do with ease, we may learn first to do with diligence.

Those who admire the beauties of this great poet, sometimes force their own judgement into false approbation of his little pieces, and prevail upon themselves to think that admirable which is only singular. All that short compositions can commonly attain is neatness and elegance. Milton never learned the art of doing little things with grace, he overlooked the milder excellence of suavity and softness, he 20 was a *Leon* that had no skill in *dandling the Kid*.

One of the poems on which much praise has been bestowed is *Lycidas*; of which the diction is harsh, the rhymes uncertain, and the numbers unplasing. What beauty there is, we must therefore seek in the sentiments and images. It is not to be considered as the effusion of real passion, for passion runs not after remote allusions and obscure opinions. Passion plucks no berries from the myrtle and ivy, nor calls upon *Arethuse* and *Mimnus*, nor tells of rough *satyrs* and *fauns with cloven hoel*. Where there is leisure for fiction 30 there is little grief.

In this poem there is no nature, for there is no truth; there is no art, for there is nothing new. Its form is that of a pastoral, easy, vulgar, and therefore disgusting. whatever images it can supply, are long ago exhausted, and its inherent improbability always forces dissatisfaction on the

mind. When Cowley tells of Hervey that they studied together, it is easy to suppose how much he must miss the companion of his labours, and the partner of his discoveries but what image of tenderness can be excited by these lines?

We drove a field, and both together heard  
 What time the grey fly winds her sultry horn,  
 Battening our flocks with the fresh dews of night.

We know that they never drove a field, and that they had no flocks to batten; and though it be allowed that the representation may be allegorical, the true meaning is so uncertain and remote, that it is never sought because it cannot be known when it is found.

Among the flocks, and copses, and flowers, appear the heathen deities; Jove and Phœbus, Neptune and Æolus, with a long train of mythological imagery, such as a College easily supplies. Nothing can less display knowledge, or less exercise invention, than to tell how a shepherd has lost his companion, and must now feed his flocks alone, without any judge of his skill in piping; and how one god asks another 20 god what is become of Lycidas, and how neither god can tell. He who thus grieves will excite no sympathy; he who thus praises will confer no honour.

This poem has yet a grosser fault. With these trifling fictions are mingled the most awful and sacred truths, such as ought never to be polluted with such irreverend combinations. The shepherd likewise is now a feeder of sheep, afterwards an ecclesiastical pastor, a superintendent of Christian flock. Such equivocations are always unskillful but here they are indecent, and at least approach to impudence of which, however, I believe the writer not to have been conscious.

Such is the power of reputation justly acquired, that the blaze drives away the eye from nice examination. Such a man could have fancied that he read Lycidas with pleasure had he not known its author.

Of the two pieces, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, I believe opinion is uniform; every man that reads them, reads them with pleasure. The author's design is not, what Theobald has remarked, merely to show how objects derive their colours from the mind, by representing the operation of the same things upon the gay and the melancholy temper, or upon the same man as he is differently disposed; but rather how, among the successive variety of appearances, every disposition of mind takes hold on those by which it may be gratified.

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The *cheerful* man hears the lark in the morning; the *pensive* man hears the nightingale in the evening. The *cheerful* man sees the cock strut, and hears the horn and hounds echo in the wood, then walks *not unseen* to observe the glory of the rising sun, or listen to the singing milk-maid, and view the labours of the plowman and the mower; then casts his eyes about him over scenes of smiling plenty, and looks up to the distant tower, the residence of some fair inhabitant, thus he pursues rural gaiety through a day of labour or of play, and delights himself at night with the 29 fanciful narratives of superstitious ignorance.

The *pensive* man, at one time, walks *unseen* to muse at midnight, and at another hears the sullen curfew. If the weather drives him home, he sits in a room lighted only by *glowing embers*; or by a lonely lamp outwatches the North Star, to discover the habitation of *separate souls*, and varies the shades of meditation, by contemplating the magnificent or pathetic scenes of tragick and epic poetry. When the morning comes, a morning gloomy with rain and wind, he walks into the dark trackless woods, falls asleep by some 30 murmuring water, and with melancholy enthusiasm expects some dream of prognostication, or some music played by aerial performers.

Both Mirth and Melancholy are solitary, silent inhabitants of the breast that neither receive nor transmit communication; no mention is therefore made of a philosophical friend, or a

pleasant companion. The seriousness does not arise from any participation of calamity; nor the gaiety from the pleasures of the bottle.

The man of *cheerfulness*, having exhausted the country, tries what *towered cities* will afford, and mingles with scenes of splendor, gay assemblies, and nuptial festivities; but he mingles a mere spectator, as, when the learned comedies of Jonson, or the wild dramas of Shakspeare, are exhibited, he attends the theatre.

- 10 The *pensive* man never loses himself in crowds, but walks the cloister, or frequents the cathedral. Milton probably had not yet forsaken the Church.

Both his characters delight in musick; but he seems to think that cheerful notes would have obtained from Pluto a compleat dismissal of Eurydice, of whom solemn sounds only procured a conditional release.

- For the old age of *Cheerfulness* he makes no provision; but *Melancholy* he conducts with great dignity to the close of life. His *Cheerfulness* is without levity, and his *Pensive-*  
20 ness without asperity.

Through these two poems the images are properly selected, and nicely distinguished; but the colours of the diction seem not sufficiently discriminated. I know not whether the characters are kept sufficiently apart. No mirth can, indeed, be found in his melancholy; but I am afraid that I always meet some melancholy in his mirth. They are two noble efforts of imagination.

- The greatest of his juvenile performances is the *Masque of Comus*; in which may very plainly be discovered the dawn  
30 or twilight of *Paradise Lost*. Milton appears to have formed very early that system of diction, and mode of verse, which his maturer judgement approved, and from which he never endeavoured nor desired to deviate.

Nor does *Comus* afford only a specimen of his language; it exhibits likewise his power of description and his vigour of sentiment, employed in the praise and defence of virtue. A

work more truly poetical is rarely found; allusions, images, and descriptive epithets, embellish almost every period with lavish decoration. As a series of lines, therefore, it may be considered as worthy of all the admiration with which the votaries have received it.

As a drama it is deficient. The action is not probable. A Masque, in those parts where supernatural intervention is admitted, must indeed be given up to all the freaks of imagination; but, so far as the action is merely human, it ought to be reasonable, which can hardly be said of the 10 conduct of the two brothers; who, when their sister sinks with fatigue in a pathless wilderness, wander both away together in search of berries too far to find their way back, and leave a helpless Lady to all the sadness and danger of solitude. This however is a defect overbalanced by its convenience.

What deserves more reprehension is, that the prologue spoken in the wild wood by the attendant Spirit is addressed to the audience; a mode of communication so contrary to the nature of dramatick representation, that no precedents 20 can support it.

The discourse of the Spirit is too long, an objection that may be made to almost all the following speeches. They have not the spriteliness of a dialogue animated by reciprocal contention, but seem rather declamations deliberately composed, and formally repeated, on a moral question. The auditor therefore listens as to a lecture, without passion, without anxiety.

The song of Comus has airiness and jollity; but, what may recommend Milton's morals as well as his poetry, the 21 invitations to pleasure are so general, that they excite no distinct images of corrupt enjoyment, and take no dangerous hold on the fancy.

The following soliloquies of Comus and the Lady are elegant, but tedious. The second owes much to the power of the imagination, but it never can delight. At last the Doctor appears, and



much tranquillity; and when they have feared lest their sister should be in danger, and hoped that she is not in danger, the Elder makes a speech in praise of chastity, and the Younger finds how fine it is to be a philosopher.

Then descends the Spirit in form of a shepherd; and the Brother, instead of being in haste to ask his help, praises his singing, and enquires his business in that place. It is remarkable, that at this interview the Brother is taken with a short fit of rhyming. The Spirit relates that the Lady is in the power of Comus; the Brother moralises again; and the Spirit makes a long narration, of no use because it is false, and therefore unsuitable to a good Being.

In all these parts the language is poetical, and the sentiments are generous; but there is something wanting to allure attention.

The dispute between the Lady and Comus is the most animated and affecting scene of the drama, and wants nothing but a brisker reciprocation of objections and replies, to invite attention, and detain it.

20 The songs are vigorous, and full of imagery; but they are harsh in their diction, and not very musical in their numbers.

Throughout the whole, the figures are too bold, and the language too luxuriant for dialogue. It is a drama in the epic style, inelegantly splendid, and tediously instructive.

The Sonnets were written in different parts of Milton's life upon different occasions. They deserve not any particular criticism; for of the best it can only be said, that they are not bad; and perhaps only the eighth and the twenty-first are truly entitled to this slender commendation. The  
30 fabrick of a sonnet, however adapted to the Italian language has never succeeded in ours, which, having greater variety of termination, requires the rhymes to be often changed.

Those little pieces may be dispatched without much anxiety; a greater work calls for greater care. I am now to examine *Paradise Lost*; a poem, which, considered with respect to design, may claim the first place, and with respect

to performance the second, among the productions of the human mind.

By the general consent of critics, the first praise of genius is due to the writer of an epick poem, as it requires an assemblage of all the powers which are singly sufficient for other compositions. Poetry is the art of uniting pleasure with truth, by calling imagination to the help of reason. Epick poetry undertakes to teach the most important truths by the most pleasing precepts, and therefore relates some great event in the most affecting manner. History must supply the writer with the rudiments of narration, which he must improve and exalt by a nobler art, must animate by dramattick energy, and diversify by retrospection and anticipation; morality must teach him the exact bounds, and different shades, of vice and virtue; from policy, and the practice of life, he has to learn the discriminations of character, and the tendency of the passions, either single or combined; and physiology must supply him with illustrations and images. To put these materials to poetical use, is required an imagination capable of painting nature, and realizing fiction. Nor is he yet a poet till he has attained the whole extension of his language, distinguished all the delicacies of phrase, and all the colours of words, and learned to adjust their different sounds to all the varieties of metrical modulation.

Boswell is of opinion that the poet's first work is to find a *moral*, which his fable is afterwards to illustrate and establish. This seems to have been the process only of Milton; the moral of other poems is incidental and consequent, in Milton's only it is essential and intrinsick. His purpose was the most useful and the most arduous, to vindicate the ways of God to man; to shew the reasonableness of religion, and the necessity of obedience to the Divine Law.

To convey this moral, there must be a *fable*, a narration artfully constructed, so as to excite curiosity, and surprise expectation. In this part of his work, Milton must be con-

After the scheme and fabrick of the poem, must be considered its component parts, the sentiments and the diction.

The *sentiments*, as expressive of manners, or appropriate to characters, are, for the greater part, unexceptionably just.

Splendid passages, containing lessons of morality, or precepts of prudence, occur seldom. Such is the original formation of this poem, that as it admits no human manners till the Fall, it can give little assistance to human conduct. Its end is to raise the thoughts above sublunary cares or pleasures. Yet the praise of that fortitude, with which Abdiel maintained his singularity of virtue against the scorn of multitudes, may be accommodated to all times; and Raphael's reproof of Adam's curiosity after the planetary motions, with the answer returned by Adam, may be confidently opposed to any rule of life which any poet has delivered.

The thoughts which are occasionally called forth in the progress, are such as could only be produced by an imagination in the highest degree fervid and active, to which materials were supplied by incessant study and unlimited curiosity. The heat of Milton's mind might be said to sublimate his learning, to throw off into his work the spirit of science, unmingled with its grosser parts.

He had considered creation in its whole extent, and his descriptions are therefore learned. He had accustomed his imagination to unrestrained indulgence, and his conception therefore were extensive. The characteristic quality of his poem is sublimity. He sometimes descends to the elegant but his element is the great. He can occasionally invest himself with grace; but his natural port is gigantick loftiness.<sup>1</sup> He can please when pleasure is required; but it is his peculiar power to astonish.

He seems to have been well acquainted with his own genius, and to know what it was that Nature had bestowed upon him more bountifully than upon others; the power of

<sup>1</sup> Algarotti terms it *gigantesca sublimità Miltoniana*.

displaying the vast, illuminating the splendid, enforcing the awful, darkening the gloomy, and aggravating the dreadful: he therefore chose a subject on which too much could not be said, on which he might tire his fancy without the censure of extravagance.

The appearances of Nature, and the occurrences of life, did not satiate his appetite of greatness. To paint things as they are requires a minute attention, and employs the memory rather than the fancy. Milton's delight was to sport in the wide regions of possibility, reality was a scene too narrow for his mind. He sent his faculties out upon discovery, into worlds where only imagination can travel, and delighted to form new modes of existence, and furnish sentiment and action to superior beings, to trace the counsels of hell, or accompany the choirs of heaven.

But he could not be always in other worlds: he must sometimes revisit earth, and tell of things visible and known. When he cannot raise wonder by the sublimity of his mind, he gives delight by its fertility.

Whatever be his subject, he never fails to fill the imagination. But his images and descriptions of the scenes or operations of Nature do not seem to be always copied from original form, nor to have the freshness, raciness, and energy of immediate observation. He saw Nature, as Dryden expresses it, *through the spectacles of books*, and on most occasions calls learning to his assistance. The garden of Eden brings to his mind the vale of Enna, where Proserpine was gathering flowers. Satan makes his way through fighting elements, like Argo between the Cyaean rocks, or Ulysses between the two Sicilian whirlpools, when he shunned Charibdis on the larboard. The mythological allusions have been justly censured, as not being always used with notice of their vanity, but they contribute variety to the narration, and produce an alternate exercise of the memory and the fancy.

His similes are less numerous, and more various,

use of his predecessors. But he does not confine himself within the limits of rigorous comparison: his great excellence is his amplitude, and he expands the adventitious image beyond the dimensions which the occasion required. Thus, comparing the shield of Satan to the orb of the Moon, he crowds the imagination with the discovery of the telescope, and all the wonders which the telescope discovers.

Of his moral sentiments it is hardly praise to affirm that they excel those of all other poets; for this superiority he is indebted to his acquaintance with the sacred writings. The ancient epick poets, wanting the light of Revelation, are very unskilful teachers of virtue: their principal characters may be great, but they are not amiable. The reader may rise from their works with a greater degree of active or passive fortitude, and sometimes of prudence; but he will be able to carry away few precepts of justice, and none of mercy.

From the Italian writers it appears, that the advantages of even Christian knowledge may be supposed in vain. Ariosto's pravity is generally known; and though the deliverance of Jerusalem may be considered as a sacred subject, the poet has been very sparing of moral instruction. In Milton every line breathes sanctity of thought, and purity of manners, except when the train of the narration requires the introduction of the rebellious Spirits; and even they are compelled to acknowledge their subjection to God, in such a manner as excites reverence, and confirms piety.

Of human beings there are but two; but those two are the parents of mankind, venerable before their fall for dignity and innocence, and amiable after it for repentance and submission. In their first state their affection is tender without weakness, and their piety sublime without presumption. When they have sinned, they shew how discord begins in mutual frailty, and how it ought to cease in mutual forbearance; how confidence of the divine favour is forfeited by sin, and how hope of pardon may be obtained by penitence and

prayer. A state of innocence we can only conceive, if indeed in our present misery, it be possible to conceive it; but the sentiments and worship proper to a fallen and offending being we have all to learn, as we have all to practise.

The poet, whatever be done, is always great. Our progenitors, in their first state, conversed with angels; even when folly and sin had degraded them, they had not in their humiliation *the port of mean suitors*; and they rise again to reverential regard, when we find that their prayers were heard.

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As human passions did not enter the world before the Fall, there is in the *Paradise Lost* little opportunity for the pathetick; but what little there is has not been lost. That passion which is peculiar to rational nature, the anguish arising from the consciousness of transgression, and the horrors attending the sense of the Divine displeasure, are very justly described and forcibly impressed. But the passions are moved only on one occasion, sublimity is the general and prevailing quality in this poem; sublimity variously modified, sometimes descriptive, sometimes argu-

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The defects and faults of *Paradise Lost*, for faults and defects every work of man must have, it is the business of impartial criticism to discover. As, in displaying the excellence of Milton, I have not made long quotations, because if selecting beauties there had been no end, I shall in the most general manner mention that which seems to deserve notice for what Englishman can take delight in, or treasure up passages, which, if they lessen the reputation of Milton, lessen in some degree the honour of our country.

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The generality of my notice does not admit of any notice of verbal inaccuracies, which, however, persons so well skilled in grammar than in poetry have often found though he sometimes made mistakes, yet he was not so much obtruded of a revise

him to employ. A *supplement* to the *life of Milton*

ght it true ; and vile and pernicious, if, as is said, he in  
ate allowed it to be false.

ne plan of *Paradise Lost* has this inconvenience, that it  
prises neither human actions nor human manners. The  
and woman who act and suffer, are in a state which  
ther man or woman can ever know. The reader finds  
transaction in which he can be engaged ; beholds no  
dition in which he can by any effort of imagination  
e himself ; he has, therefore, little natural curiosity or  
pathy.

ve all, indeed, feel the effects of Adam's disobedience ;  
all sin like Adam, and like him must all bewail our  
nces ; we have restless and insidious enemies in the fallen  
els, and in the blessed spirits we have guardians and  
nds ; in the Redemption of mankind we hope to be  
aded : in the description of heaven and hell we are surely  
rested, as we are all to reside hereafter either in the  
ons of horror or bliss.

ut these truths are too important to be new ; they have  
taught to our infancy ; they have mingled with our  
ary thoughts and familiar conversation, and are habitually  
rwoven with the whole texture of life. Being therefore  
new, they raise no unaccustomed emotion in the mind ;  
t we knew before, we cannot learn ; what is not unex-  
ed, cannot surprise.

f the ideas suggested by these awful scenes, from some  
ecede with reverence, except when stated hours require  
r association ; and from others we shrink with hor-  
dmit them only as salutary inflictions, as counter-  
ur interests and passions. Such images rather obs-  
career of fancy than incite it.

leasure and terroure are indeed the genuine source  
ry ; but poetical pleasure must be such as human  
ion can at least conceive, and poetical terroure  
an strength and fortitude may combat. The gr-  
of Eternity are too ponderous for the wings of

mind sinks under them in passive helplessness, content with calm belief and humble adoration

Known truths, however, may take a different appearance, and be conveyed to the mind by a new train of intermediate images. This Milton has undertaken, and performed with pregnancy and vigour of mind peculiar to himself. Whoever considers the few radical positions which the Scriptures afforded him, will wonder by what energetick operation he expanded them to such extent, and ramified them to so much variety, restrained as he was by religious reverence from 10 licentiousness of fiction

Here is a full display of the united force of study and genius; of a great accumulation of materials, with judgement to digest, and fancy to combine them. Milton was able to select from nature, or from story, from ancient fable, or from modern science, whatever could illustrate or adorn his thoughts. An accumulation of knowledge impregnated his mind, fermented by study, and exalted by imagination.

It has been therefore said, without an indecent hyperbole, by one of his encomiasts, that in reading *Paradise Lost* we 20 read a book of universal knowledge.

But original deficiency cannot be supplied. The want of human interest is always felt. *Paradise Lost* is one of the books which the reader admires and lays down, and forgets to take up again. None ever wished it longer than it is. *Its perusal is a duty rather than a pleasure.* We read Milton for instruction, retire harassed and overburdened, and look elsewhere for recreation, we desert our master, and seek for companions

Another inconvenience of Milton's design is, that it requires 30 the description of what cannot be described, the agency of spirits. He saw that immateriality supplied no images, and that he could not show angels acting but by instruments of action. he therefore invested them with form and matter. This, being necessary, was therefore defensible, and he should have secured the consistency of his system by keeping



materiality out of sight, and enticing his reader to drop it from his thoughts. But, he has unhappily perplexed his poetry with his philosophy. His infernal and celestial powers are sometimes pure spirit, and sometimes animated body. When Satan walks with his lance upon the *burning marle*, he has a body; when, in his passage between hell and the *new world*, he is in danger of sinking in the vacuity, and is supported by a gust of rising vapours, he has a body; when he animates the toad, he seems to be mere spirit, that can penetrate matter at pleasure; when he *starts up in his own type*, he has at least a determined form; and when he is fought before Gabriel, he has *a spear and a shield*, which he had the power of hiding in the toad, though the arms of the attending angels are evidently material.

The vulgar inhabitants of Pandæmonium, being *incorporeal spirits*, are *at large, though without number*, in a limited space; but in the battle, when they were overwhelmed by mountains, their armour hurt them, *crushed in upon their substance, now grown gross by sinning*. This likewise happened to the corrupted angels, who were overthrown *the sooner for their sins, for unarmed they might easily as spirits have evaded by contraction or remove*. Even as spirits they are hardly ritual; for *contraction and remove* are images of matter; but if they could have escaped without their armour, they might have escaped from it, and left only the empty cover to be battered. Uriel, when he rides on a sun-beam, is material; and Satan is material when he is afraid of the prowess of Adam. The confusion of spirit and matter which pervades the whole narration of the war of heaven fills it with inconsistency: and the book, in which it is related, is, I believe, the favourite of children, and gradually neglected as knowledge increased.

After the operation of immaterial agents, which cannot be maintained, may be considered that of allegorical persons, which have no real existence. To exalt causes into agents, to invest abstract ideas with form, and animate them with

activity, has always been the right of poetry. But such airy beings are, for the most part, suffered only to do their natural office, and retire. Thus Fame tells a tale, and Victory hovers over a general, or perches on a standard; but Fame and Victory can do no more. To give them any real employment, or ascribe to them any material agency, is to make them allegorical no longer, but to shock the mind by ascribing effects to non-entity. In the *Prometheus* of *Æschylus*, we see *Violence* and *Strength*, and in the *Alcestris* of *Euripides*, we see *Death*, brought upon the stage, all as 10 active persons of the drama; but no precedents can justify absurdity.

Milton's allegory of Sin and Death is undoubtedly faulty. Sin is indeed the mother of Death, and may be allowed to be the portress of hell, but when they stop the journey of Satan, a journey described as real, and when Death offers him battle, the allegory is broken. That Sin and Death should have shewn the way to hell, might have been allowed; but they cannot facilitate the passage by building a bridge, because the difficulty of Satan's passage is described as real 20 and sensible, and the bridge ought to be only figurative. The hell assigned to the rebellious spirits is described as not less local than the residence of man. It is placed in some distant part of space, separated from the regions of harmony and order by a chaotick waste and an unoccupied vacuity, but *Sin* and *Death* worked up a mole of *angrivated soil*, cemented with *asphaltus*, a work too bulky for ideal architects.

This unskillful allegory appears to me one of the greatest faults of the poem, and to this there was no temptation, but 30 the author's opinion of its beauty.

To the conduct of the narrative some objections may be made. Satan is with great expectation brought before Gabriel in Paradise, and is suffered to go away unmolested. The creation of man is represented as the consequence of the vacuity left in heaven by the expulsion of the rebels, yet

Satan mentions it as a report *rife in heaven* before his departure.

To find sentiments for the state of innocence, was very difficult ; and something of anticipation perhaps is now and then discovered. Adam's discourse of dreams seems not to be the speculation of a new-created being. I know not whether his answer to the angel's reproof for curiosity does not want something of propriety : it is the speech of a man acquainted with many other men. Some philosophical notions, especially when the philosophy is false, might have been better omitted. The angel, in a comparison, speaks of *timorous deer*, before deer were yet timorous, and before Adam could understand the comparison.

Dryden remarks, that Milton has some flats among his elevations. This is only to say, that all the parts are not equal. In every work, one part must be for the sake of others ; a palace must have passages ; a poem must have transitions. It is no more to be required that wit should always be blazing, than that the sun should always stand at noon. In a great work there is a vicissitude of luminous and opaque parts, as there is in the world a succession of day and night. Milton, when he has expatiated in the sky, may be allowed sometimes to revisit earth ; for what other author ever soared so high, or sustained his flight so long ?

Milton, being well versed in the Italian poets, appears to have borrowed often from them ; and, as every man catches something from his companions, his desire of imitating Ariosto's levity has disgraced his work with the *Paradise of Fools* ; a fiction not in itself ill-imagined, but too ludicrous for its place.

His play on words, in which he delights too often ; his equivocations, which Bentley endeavours to defend by the example of the ancients ; his unnecessary and ungraceful use of terms of art ; it is not necessary to mention, because they are easily remarked, and generally censured, and at last bear

so little proportion to the whole, that they scarcely deserve the attention of a critick.

Such are the faults of that wonderful performance *Paradise Lost*, which he who can put in balance with its beauties must be considered not as nice but as dull, as less to be censured for want of candour, than pitied for want of sensibility.

Of *Paradise Regained*, the general judgement seems now to be right, that it is in many parts elegant, and everywhere instructive. It was not to be supposed that the writer of 10 *Paradise Lost* could ever write without great effusions of fancy, and exalted precepts of wisdom. The basis of *Paradise Regained* is narrow; a dialogue without action can never please like an union of the narrative and dramatick powers. Had this poem been written not by Milton, but by some imitator, it would have claimed and received universal praise.

If *Paradise Regained* has been too much depreciated, *Sampson Agonistes* has in requital been too much admired. It could only be by long prejudice, and the bigotry of learning, that Milton could prefer the ancient tragedies, with 20 their encumbrance of a chorus, to the exhibitions of the French and English stages; and it is only by a blind confidence in the reputation of Milton, that a drama can be praised in which the intermediate parts have neither cause nor consequence, neither hasten nor retard the catastrophe.

In this tragedy are however many particular beauties, many just sentiments and striking lines, but it wants that power of attracting the attention which a well-connected plan produces.

Milton would not have excelled in dramatick writing; he 30 knew human nature only in the gross, and had never studied the shades of character, nor the combinations of concurring, or the perplexity of contending passions. He had read much, and knew what books could teach, but had mingled little in the world, and was deficient in the knowledge which experience must confer.

Through all his greater works there prevails an uniform peculiarity of *Diction*, a mode and cast of expression which bears little resemblance to that of any former writer, and which is so far removed from common use, that an unlearned reader, when he first opens his book, finds himself surprised by a new language.

This novelty has been, by those who can find nothing wrong in Milton, imputed to his laborious endeavours after words suitable to the grandeur of his ideas. *Our language*, 10 says Addison, *sunk under him*. But the truth is, that, both in prose and verse, he had formed his style by a perverse and pedantick principle. He was desirous to use English words with a foreign idiom. This in all his prose is discovered and condemned; for there judgement operates freely, neither softened by the beauty, nor awed by the dignity of his thoughts; but such is the power of his poetry, that his call is obeyed without resistance, the reader feels himself in captivity to a higher and a nobler mind, and criticism sinks in admiration.

20 Milton's style was not modified by his subject: what is shewn with greater extent in *Paradise Lost*, may be found in *Comus*. One source of his peculiarity was his familiarity with the Tuscan poets: the disposition of his words is, I think, frequently Italian; perhaps sometimes combined with other tongues. Of him, at last, may be said what Jonson says of Spenser, that *he wrote no language*, but has formed what Butler calls a *Babylonish Dialect*, in itself harsh and barbarous, but made by exalted genius, and extensive learning, the vehicle of so much instruction and so much pleasure, 30 that, like other lovers, we find grace in its deformity.

Whatever be the faults of his diction, he cannot want the praise of copiousness and variety: he was master of his language in its full extent; and has selected the melodious words with such diligence, that from his book alone the Art of English Poetry might be learned.

After his diction, something must be said of his *versifica-*

tion. *The measure, he says, is the English heroick verse without rhyme.* Of this mode he had many examples among the Italians, and some in his own country. The Earl of Surrey is said to have translated one of Virgil's books without rhyme; and, besides our tragedies, a few short poems had appeared in blank verse; particularly one tending to reconcile the nation to Raleigh's wild attempt upon Guiana, and probably written by Raleigh himself. These petty performances cannot be supposed to have much influenced Milton, who more probably took his hint from Trisino's Italia 10 Liberata; and, finding blank verse easier than rhyme, was desirous of persuading himself that it is better.

*Rhyme, he says, and says truly, is no necessary adjunct of true poetry.* But perhaps, of poetry as a mental operation, metre or musick is no necessary adjunct. it is however by the musick of metre that poetry has been discriminated in all languages; and in languages melodiously constructed with a due proportion of long and short syllables, metre is sufficient. But one language cannot communicate its rules to another: where metre is scanty and imperfect, some help is necessary. 20 *The musick of the English heroick line strikes the ear so faintly that it is easily lost, unless all the syllables of every line co-operate together. this co-operation can be only obtained by the preservation of every verse unmingled with another, as a distinct system of sounds; and this distinctness is obtained and preserved by the artifice of rhyme.* The variety of pauses, so much boasted by the lovers of blank verse, changes the measures of an English poet to the periods of a declaimer, and there are only a few skilful and happy readers of Milton, who enable their audience to perceive 30 where the lines end or begin. *Blank verse, said an ingenious critick, seems to be verse only to the eye.*

Poetry may subsist without rhyme, but English poetry will not often please, nor can rhyme ever be safely spared but where the subject is able to support itself. Blank verse makes some approach to that which is called the *lapidary*

owards the end of Elizabeth's reign (1601) for obstinate non-attendance at their parish-churches. He was the poet's grandfather, one of his sons, John Milton, being the poet's father" (*Milton's Poetical Works*, i. p. 296).

l. 13. disinherited, on account, it is said, of his turning Protestant.

l. 16. scrivener, literally a copyist, notary; from O. F. *escrivain*, Lat. *scriba*, a scribe. "The business of a scrivener in Old London was an important, and sometimes a lucrative, one. It consisted in the drawing up of wills, marriage settlements, and other deeds, the lending out of money for clients, and much else now done partly by attorneys and partly by law-stationers" (Masson, *P. W.* i. 297).

l. 18. profession, sc. of scrivener.

ll. 19, 20. had ... more ... literature, was a man of more than ordinary acquaintance with literature. To 'have' in this sense was a common idiom in former days with such words as 'learning,' 'literature,' 'scholarship,' etc.

l. 21. one of ... poems, that entitled "Ad Patrem," an hexameter poem of a hundred and twenty lines written when Milton was staying with his father at Horton in Buckinghamshire in 1632 or 1633.

l. 22. of the name ... family, according to one tradition her maiden name was Sarah Bradshaw; according to another, Sarah Caston; but recent researches have proved that her mother was wife of a Paul Jeffrey or Jeffreys, of an Essex family, and unless this lady was married more than once the maiden name of Milton's mother must have been Jeffrey or Jeffreys; "and it was probably," says Bradshaw, Milton's *Poetical Works*, Aldine ed., p. xviii., "her mother whom Aubrey discovered to be a Bradshaw."

l. 24. as the law taught him, here, as frequently in the *Life*, Johnson's Tory principles show themselves.

l. 25. the King's party, the royalist cause. For this adherence, and for having served as one of the King's Commissioners for sequestrating the estates of the Parliamentarians, he had, in 1646, to make submission to Parliament by taking the Covenant, and to sue out pardon by paying a fine on his property. After the Restoration he continued to practice as a barrister, and became a Bencher of the Inner Temple and Deputy Recorder of Ipswich. In 1686 he was sworn one of the Barons of the Exchequer, his character and the fact of his having become a Catholic recommending him to James. At the Revolution he retired into private life, and died at Ipswich in 1692, in his seventy-seventh year.

l. 26. in quiet, free from persecution

P. 2, l. 1 chamber practice, such as conveyancing, giving a legal opinion upon matters in dispute, without the necessity of appearing as counsel in Court

l. 4 disreputable compliances, any act of surrendering his principles in compliance with the religious views of James the Second.

ll. 6, 7. whom he married Phillips, this was in 1624; Edward Phillips, or Phillips, was second clerk in the Government office called the Crown Office in Chancery.

ll. 10, 11 at the Spread Eagle, "In those days, houses in cities were not numbered as now, and persons in business, to

l. 13. Bread Street, running south from Cheapside, then as now one of the main thoroughfares of the City between Ludgate Hill and Cornhill. The street of Milton's day was destroyed in the Great Fire, 1666.

l. 16. Thomas Young, "afterwards a Puritan minister and well known in his later life as a prominent divine of the Puritan party" (Masson, *Life*, i. 44)

l. 20 St Paul's School, founded by Dean Colet, the friend of Erasmus, in 1512.

l. 21 Gill, Alexander, M.A., of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, appointed in 1608

l. 22. entered a sizar, this is not correct. Milton entered as a "lesser pensioner" ("pensionarius minor," in the list of entries given by Masson, *Life*, i. 75, 6), the three classes of students being then, as he points out, 'greater pensioner,' corresponding with the 'fellow commoner' of modern times, 'lesser pensioner,' and 'sizar.' A sizar at Cambridge, corresponding with a *servitor* at Oxford, is a student who pays lower fees than a

his social position was much lower than that of a *pensioner*. To "enter" a sizar, pensioner, fellow commoner (not 'enter as' a sizar, etc.), was and still is the technical phraseology at the Universities

l. 26 the learned Politian, an Italian poet and dramatist (1454-1494) famous for his Latin as well as his Italian poems. The



former, for which he appears to have had an exaggerated admiration, Johnson in his earlier days proposed to edit with notes containing a history of modern Latin verse.

ll. 27, 8. seems to commend... posterity, seems to show that he wished to draw the favourable notice of posterity to the early age at which he became highly skilled in Latin composition.

ll. 29, 30. his vernal fertility, his youthful proficiency and readiness in versifying.

l. 30. Cowley, 1608-1667, one of the so-called "metaphysical poets," for whom Johnson, like Dryden in his earlier days, had an admiration which later times have not endorsed.

l. 34. a date... sixteen, i.e. till he had completed sixteen years. So, as Masson points out, when he says "*anno aetatis 17*," which should mean 'in his seventeenth year,' i.e. 16 years old, Milton means that he was 17 years old, or, as we should say, 'in his eighteenth year.'

P. 3, l. 5. nice discernment, accurate discrimination as to their merits.

l. 6. Polybius, the celebrated Greek historian, born about B.C. 204.

l. 8. the revival of letters, a phrase in common use for the revival of learned studies, about A.D. 1450, after their eclipse during the "Dark Ages"; also sometimes called the "Renaissance."

l. 10. Haddon, Walter (1516-1572), whose Latinity has been extolled by many critics, though Hallam, a trustworthy judge, has not much to say in his favour. His *Orations* were published in 1567: Ascham (1515-1568), author of the *Schoolmaster* and *Toxophilus*, "whose knowledge of ancient languages was not shown in profuse quotation, or enveloped in Latin phrase, but served to enrich his mind with valuable sense, and taught him to transfer the firmness and precision of ancient writers to our own English..." (Hallam, *Literary History*, i. 348).

l. 12. we, i.e. Englishmen.

l. 14. Alabaster's *Roxana*, a tragedy largely imitated from the *Dalida* of Grotto, an Italian dramatist of the sixteenth century; published in 1632, though written some forty years earlier.

l. 15. exercises, "the periodical Latin debates and declamations, in College or in the Public Schools of the University, which formed so conspicuous a part of the old system of Cambridge training" (Masson, P. II. i. p. 5). The exercises here referred to were seven in number, "filling in all about sixty dense octavo pages," and published in a volume entitled *Autoris jam olim in Collegio adolescentis Prolusiones quadam Oratoriae*. Translations of them are given in Masson's *Life*, i. 206-31.

l. 19 with no great fondness, Milton's unpopularity, such as it was, seems to have been among the rougher men of his college, by whom, says Masson, "he was nicknamed '*The Lady*' on account of his too conspicuous feminine and graceful appearance and a

(Masson, *P. II.* i. 258).

l. 20 fellowship, a "fellow" of a college is one who as a reward for the high degree he has taken receives an annual income from

while the Crown sometimes interfered, as it did in the case of Milton's friend, Edward King, in behalf of those recommended to it by considerations of birth or political connection.

l. 23 in either university, i.e. Oxford or Cambridge. In the latter, the University of Cambridge, the

l. 25. in the violence hostility, when, in later years, he was engaged in bitter polemical controversies.

ll 25, 6 objected to him, cast in his teeth

l. 28 Diodati, Charles Diodati, of Italian extraction, whose family had settled in England, a schoolfellow of Milton's at St. Paul's and the dearest friend through his youth and early man-

arrangement was made which permitted him to return in time to save that term, and to exchange the tutorship of Chappell for that of Tovey" (Masson, *Life*, i. 121)

P. 4 ll 2, 3. with no kindness institution with no feelings of affection towards it as a University

ll. 4, 5. captious perverseness, wrong-headedness, which made him ever ready to take objection to the discipline prescribed.

1. 6. inscribed, dedicated.

1. 7. Hartlib, this was Samuel Hartlib, a well-known London merchant, half-Polish, half-English, with whom Milton had formed a friendship, and to whom in 1644 he addressed his *Tract on Education*. superseded, would do away with.

1. 9. their entrance upon grammar, the first beginnings of instruction in languages.

1. 10. proceed, a technical term at the Universities for taking the degree of Master of Arts at the end of seven years from the date of matriculation.

1. 11. On the Likeliest... Church, this *Tract on Disestablishment and Disendowment* was in 1659 addressed by Milton to the Restored Rump Parliament, which however was too busy with other matters, even if willing, to take up the subject. The Hirelings are those who had entered the Church merely for the sake of a livelihood, those who

“for their bellies’ sake  
Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold!  
Of other care they little reckoning make,  
Than how to scramble at the shearers’ feast,  
And shove away the worthy bidden guest”

—(*Lycidas*, 114-8).

ll. 12, 3. lands forfeited ... uses, i.e. by the statutes of Mortmain, by which open conveyances of lands to religious houses had been prohibited.

ll. 15, 6. a competency of learning, the acquisition of learning sufficient for their station in life.

1. 18. tithes, the tenth of the produce as offered to the clergy.

ll. 20, 1. entering ... Church, a common, though inaccurate, term for being ordained a minister.

1. 22. subscribe slave, write himself down a slave to the ordinances and doctrines of the Church. The quotations here are from *The Reason of Church Government*, published in 1641.

1. 24. retch, bring up again, vomit up; A.S. *hræcan*, to try to vomit, from A.S. *hræc*, a cough, or spittle.

ll. 25, 6. the office of speaking, i.e. as mouthpiece of the Church.

1. 27. forswearing, perjury; for- in composition represents the Latin *per*=through, thoroughly, and adds an intensive meaning as in the Latin *perjurare*, to swear out and out, and hence to swear falsely.

## NOTES.

ll. 28, 9 subscription of the Articles, the formality of signing a name to the Articles of the Church, which was

l. 30. canonical obedience, obedience to the canons or rule of the Church as regards discipline, etc.

l. 31. to thwart his opinions, to cross, run counter to, opinions held by him.

ll. 31, 2 but the thoughts indignation, the idea of restriction whether by canonical or civil ordinance was utterly repugnant to him.

ll. 33, 4 not yet resolution, which perhaps had not yet gone so far as to determine him to decline, etc. This letter, of which there are two drafts in the Library of Trinity College, C

ll. 35, 6. his suspended life, his suspension and putting off of some future time of the serious study which should fit him for ordination

P. 5 l. 1. curiosity, eager prying into all kinds of knowledge

ll. 1, 2 fantastick knowledge, fanciful indulgence of thirst for knowledge in a variety of subjects, as opposed to concentration of such knowledge as pertained to his named purpose of entering the Church,—a purpose which his friends supposed him to have in view

l. 2. cool, calm, not angry

ll. 6, 7. not taking fit, considering the question of entering the Church earlier or later as one of less importance than the making himself really fit for the profession

l. 9. Horton, near Colnbrook, in Buckinghamshire

ll. 11, 2 With what us? When Milton speaks thus, we can say what writers were included in this would all but be certain. . . . Church and all men his self said was . . . the Church and la

ll. 14, 5. the masque of Comus presented . . . I thought out the stage, at Ludlow Castle in 1634 . . . the Earl of Brad

water, John Egerton, born about 1579, son of the famous Lord Chancellor Ellesmere: masque, "it is usual to write *mask* in the sense of visor, and *masque* in the sense of masquerade; there is no reason for this distinction ... No doubt it is, and long has been, generally supposed that the entertainment takes its name from the visor, according to the French usage; but it is remarkable that the sense of entertainment is the true one, the use of the visor at such entertainments being (from an etymological point of view) an accident. The sense of entertainment is the usual one in old authors ..." (Skeat, *Ety. Dict.*); who goes on to show that the origin is the F. *masque*, a visor, *masquerade*, a mask or mummer, a form borrowed from Span. *mascarada*, a masquerade, from *maskara*, a masker, masquerader, which again is from Arab. *mashkarat*, a buffoon, a fool, jester, etc.

1. 18. Homer's Circe, a mythical sorceress, daughter of Helios (the Sun), who lived in the island of Aea, and with whom Odysseus is represented in Homer's *Odyssey* as having stayed a year, after she had changed several of his companions into swine.

11. 21, 2. a quo ... aquis, from whom, as from an ever-flowing source, the lips of bards are moistened with the waters of the Muses' stream; from Ovid, *Amor.* iii. 9. 25:

1. 26. much a favourite, we should now say 'much of a favourite' or 'a great favourite.'

1. 27. the wits, men of intellect and learning.

11. 29, 30. according ... poetry, which allowed of a variety of length such as is found in *Lycidas*; see Introduction.

1. 31. some lines, the famous vision of St. Peter, 11. 113-131, in which Milton foretold the downfall of the corrupted English clergy.

1. 33. his Arcades, probably written in 1634. To explain the nature of the poem, Milton added to its title the words "Part of an Entertainment [*i.e.* Masque] presented to the Countess Dowager of Derby at Harefield by some noble persons of her Family."

P. 6, 1. 4. the Inns of Court, of these the chief were the Inner and Middle Temple, Lincoln's Inn, and Gray's Inn, near which Milton resided.

1. 5. the death of his mother, at Horton, April 3, 1637. So long as she was alive Milton's love for her made him reluctant to leave England.

1. 7. precept of prudence. wise maxim. "Wotton (1568-1639), a scholar, diplomatist, and poet, died Provost of Eton. His life was written by Izaak Walton" (Matthew Arnold). Wotton's letter will be found at length prefixed to *Comus*. The words

quoted by him, which he speaks of as having found a 'Delphian oracle,' were part of the advice given him by one Alberto Stipiti, 'an old Roman courtier' with whom he lodged at Siena.

L. 10. Paris, where he seems to have arrived late in April or early in May, 1638.

L. 11. Lord Scudamore, John, Viscount Sigo, then ambassador of King Charles.

L. 12. Grotius, "Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), a scholar, theologian, and diplomatist; one of the most celebrated men whom Holland has produced" (Matthew Arnold). Grotius was at this time much occupied with a scheme for the union of all the Protestant Churches, and through Lord Scudamore in communication with Laud on the subject. For this among other reasons he would be likely to welcome a visit from Milton.

leaders in the chief Academies or Literary Clubs of Florence, are particularly named by him as friends whose merits, and courtesies to himself, he could never forget. These were Jacopo Galbi, Carlo Dati, Pietro Frescobaldi, Agostino Coltellini, Benedetto Buommattei, Valerio Chiavettelli, and Antonio Francini" (Masson, *P. II* pp. 10, 11).

L. 22. propensity of nature, natural inclination, tendency

L. 23. as they *i.e.* that they should not let it die. From *The Reason of Church Government*, etc.

L. 29. set its value high, considered that praise from him was something of great value

L. 31. the waste of time, the ravages of time certain, unfailing

L. 34. wanted, lacked, failed to obtain

L. 35. inscription, dedication as "inscribed p. 4 l. 6. in the style, "By a 'lapidary style' Johnson means the style usually adopted in monumental inscriptions. Elsewhere he says, 'the writer of an epitaph must not be considered as saying nothing but what is true. Allowance must be made for some degree of exaggerated praise. In lapidary inscriptions a man is not upon oath.'" (Firth)

P. 7. l. 1 are too topics treat of common subjects in too elaborate and long winded a style

L. 3. Sienna between thirty and forty miles due south of Florence, then the usual route from Florence to Rome.

L. 5. Holstenius, or Lucas Holsten, a learned German settled in

Rome as secretary to Cardinal Barberini, and one of the librarians of the Vatican.

1. 7. Cardinal Barberini, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, prime minister of Rome, and chief councillor of his uncle Pope Urban, a great patron of literary men; at his palace Milton first heard the famous singer Leonora Baroni, by some supposed to be the subject of his Italian Sonnets.

1. 9. Salsilli, Giovanni Salsilli, a "Roman Poet," as Milton calls him, to whom is addressed one of the poems among the *Sylva*. Of Selvaggi, nothing has been discovered: distich, couplet: tetrastich, quatrain, or stanza of four verses. This distich of Selvaggi, Salsilli's tetrastich, and Manso's lines mentioned below, are prefixed to Milton's Latin poems.

1. 11. commerce, intercourse.

11. 12, 3. though not ... grammarian, though not without faults of idiom that a severe critic might point out.

1. 18. non tam de se, quam supra se, not so much about himself as above himself, i.e. exaggerated encomiums.

11. 21, 2. count pictures, glance at as many as he could in a hurried walk round the galleries.

1. 22. contemplation, careful observation and study.

11. 24, 5. Naples, probably in November, 1638: a hermit, "a certain Eremite Friar," as Milton calls him, whose name has not been discovered.

1. 26. Manso, Giovanni Battista Manso, then nearly eighty years of age, to whom Milton addresses another of his Latin hexameter poems. Manso was himself an author of poems and of philosophical dialogues; but is better known as a liberal patron of Art and Literature, and as the bosom friend of Tasso and Marini.

1. 29. sorry, poor, indifferent. This distich as translated by Masson runs as follows: "Mind, form, grace, and morals are perfect; if but thy creed were, Then not Anglie alone, truly Angelic thou'dst be."

1. 33. differences, points in dispute.

P. 8, 11. 2, 3. plots ... Jesuits, there were English Jesuits, resident at Rome, of whom Milton says he was warned that they were on the watch to entrap him into some danger from the Papal police.

1. 5. kept on his way, pursued his usual course of life, i.e., as Johnson goes on to say, "neither obtruding nor shunning controversy."

1. 7. Galileo, born at Pisa in 1563, a poet, a scholar, and a musician, as well as a mathematician of the highest fame; first

condemned for heresy by the Inquisition in 1616 and a second time in 1632: "a prisoner to the Inquisition for thinking in Astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought," *Aræopagica*, p. 60, Arber's Reprints; at the time of Milton's visit to Florence he was living at his Villa d'Arcetri, a little way out of that city, and still, though formally liberated, under certain restrictions imposed by the Inquisition.

l. 15 Lucca, in Tuscany, about forty miles due west of Florence. Masson supposes Milton to have visited this place in order that he "might see the town whence Diodati derived his lineage" (*Life*, i. 651).

l. 16 sent away, i.e. to England. Many of these books, according to Phillips, were "music books of the best masters flourishing about that time in Italy."

ll. 17, 8 which he probably orthodoxy, Geneva being the headquarters of the Calvinistic school of theology; said with something of a sneer.

l. 26. Epitaphium Damonis, see note p. 3, l. 28. It is not certain that he did not hear of his friend's death when staying at Geneva with John Diodati, the uncle.

l. 32. the world, *sc.* of fashion, the progress of which in London has for generations been from the east to the west, so that streets fashionable even in Johnson's time are now given up to mercantile purposes.

P. o. l. 4. vapours away his patriotism, allows his patriotism to evaporate in nothing more adventurous than keeping a school. This is an unworthy sarcasm. Milton when abroad had been misled as to the actual state of affairs in England, and on his return found no scope for an active interference in political matters.

l. 7. to a schoolmaster, to the position of a schoolmaster. It should be remembered that Johnson himself was at one time a schoolmaster and found it a very trying occupation.

ll. 12, 3. His father was alive, he had not yet come into any property from his father.

ll. 28, 9. the Georgick, Virgil's poem of the four Georgics, in which agriculture in its various forms is treated of.

l. 31. projectors probably here used in the depreciatory sense which attached to the word in consequence of the wild and dishonest projects put forward by men who took this title.

ll. 32, 3 what was wanting. I.e., what was necessary to render life more interesting and more useful. Cowley is supposed by Johnson to have had better means of judging because he mixed more in society than did Milton.

l. 34. his imaginary college, his college which, like Plat



*Republic*, Bacon's *New Atlantis*, or More's *Utopia*, was nothing more than an ideal scheme. This "refers to Cowley's scheme for the establishment of what he terms 'a philosophical college,' entitled 'A proposition for the advancement of experimental philosophy'" (Firth).

P. 10. l. 7. prove... opinions, show by the results that the opinions were founded on reason.

l. 12. at leisure, such as we pursue at leisure times.

ll. 12, 3. "in this passage means knowledge of its such rare emergence, so seldom coming... finding opportunity for display, use.

l. 15. prudential character, character as a man of sobriety and foresight. Masson, *Life*, iii. 252, criticizing Johnson's criticism, remarks, that in reality "Milton included all that Johnson wanted to have included, and more largely and systematically than Johnson would have dared to dream of, and for the same reasons. The introduction of Natural and Physical Science into schools was but a portion, though an emphatic portion, of Milton's project. And, with respect to this portion of his project—... subsequent opinion has more and more pronounced, and is more and more pronouncing, for Milton and against Johnson. The fairer criticism now would be as to the *mode* in which Milton proposed to teach Natural and Physical Science, and knowledge generally [i.e. through the medium of the Greek and Latin languages] ... This taken out of the Scheme, all the rest lasts and is as good now, and perhaps as needful, as it was in Milton's time"....

l. 21. pedantick, a 'pedant' is properly nothing more than a schoolmaster, from It. *pedante*, but the word early came to be used for one who makes an ostentatious display of learning.

l. 22. paradoxical, given to the utterance of paradox, that which is contrary to received opinion; from Gk. *παρά*, beside and *δόξα*, notion, opinion

ll. 23, 4. to turn... life, to direct philosophy towards an inquiry into the affairs of life around us instead of the study of things in the natural world that are beyond our ken; or, as Socrates put it, to bring down philosophy from the clouds to the earth.

l. 30. "Ὅττι... τέτυκται, what mischance and what good fortune have happened in your house, Homer, *Odyssey*, iv. 392; so far as Johnson's application goes, *τέτυκται* is present—"whatever happens."

ll. 31, 2. this wonder-working academy, this school from which such great things were to be expected

P 11. 11. 6, 7  
 1626, a divine of  
 1576-1633, who, for  
 some time at the Hague, and afterwards, was a professor in the  
 University of Franeker, in Friesland.

l 11. Gray's Inn, "Only this advantage he had," says Phillips,  
 "that once in three weeks or a month he would drop into the  
 society of some young sparks of his acquaintance, whereof were  
 Mr Alphry and Mr. Miller, two gentlemen of Gray's Inn, the  
 beaux of those times, but nothing near so bad as those new-a-  
 days. With these gentlemen he would so far make bold with  
 his body as now and then to keep a gaudy-day," i.e. a feast day,  
 a holiday

l 13 lent his breath . contention, helped by his writings to  
 embitter the religious and political controversies of the day.

ll 16, 7 inferior . learning, Firth points out that it was  
 inferiority not in learning but in eloquence that Milton referred  
 to, and that by 'eloquence' he meant the 'sharp taunts,' the  
 'quips and snapping adages' and the 'coy flirting style' in  
 which Hall indulged

l 18 Hall (1574 1636), bishop of Exeter and afterwards of  
 Norwich. His pamphlet, published in January 1640, with no  
 name to it, was entitled *Humble Remonstrance to the High Court  
 of Parliament - By a Dutifull-Sonne of the Church*

l 21. Smectymnus, the five ministers were Stephen Marshall,  
 Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and  
 William Spurstow, the first letters of whose Christian names and  
 surnames make up the word

l 24. Of Prelatical Episcopacy, a pamphlet consisting of twenty-  
 four small quarto pages, published anonymously

ll 24, 5 may be deduced can be deduced, may originally  
 meant 'to be able,' A S *magan*, and this sense is frequent in  
 Elizabethan English

l 25 Apostolical Times, age of the Apostles who propagated  
 the Christian religion.

ll 29, 30 contemptuous mention, as shown by the words "goes  
 Armagh," which in Johnson's opinion evidently infer that

Milton could hardly believe the treatise to be written by one in such a position.

ll. 30, 1. the puritanical...manners, the rough manners affected by the Puritans.

l. 32. Prelacy, a 'Prelate' is literally nothing more than 'one set above others,' from Lat. *prælatus*, set above, but the term was restricted to mean 'a church dignitary,' 'bishop,' and Prelacy is this system of church government by bishops.

l. 33. discovers, exhibits, allows to be seen.

P. 12, ll. 2, 3. that can enrich...knowledge, which is able to bestow all knowledge and the powers of declaring that knowledge.

ll. 3-5. sends out...pleases, by means of his angels purifies the minds of those whom he chooses as his agents and interpreters, and inspires them with his will. Seraphim, a Hebrew plural, from which we get the English word *seraph*; said to mean 'high' or 'exalted,' the seraphim being angels of the highest rank in the angelic order.

l. 7. all seemingly...affairs, all studies and matters of a becoming and noble character.

ll. 7-9. till which...expectation, until he shall have completed the course of reading which he has laid down for himself, and shall have found himself incapable of the great end he proposes to himself, Milton will continue to cherish the hope of producing something that may be of use and honour to his country.

l. 13. vomited...university, expelled from the University as something injurious to its well-being, like food from which the stomach revolts as being injurious to bodily health. This charge Milton, *Apology against a Pamphlet called A Modest Confutation*, etc., describes as a "commodious lie," commodious as giving him an opportunity of acknowledging publicly the extraordinary "favour and respect" which he had experienced from the authorities of his College and others during his student-life at Cambridge.

ll. 17-20. As for the common...with me, if my critic supposes me likely to acknowledge that I in the least value myself upon the approbation, or think less of myself for the disapprobation, of the ordinary residents (as opposed to the Fellows of his College) of the University in its present condition, he only shows his extreme folly; if he think to obtain with me, if he fancies that he can get the better of me by bringing me to admit that such considerations weigh with me.

ll. 20-6 of small practice...physick, he would show himself to be the merest empiric, the merest tiro in knowledge, who could not see, by the experience of what persons she and her sister

(Oxford) have driven out of their fold, that she ever persistently cherishes those who are a disgrace to her, while she as persistently rejects those who would be an honour to her - those she now thrusts forth from her, she thrusts forth not because they are

l. 27. in my younger judgement, even when I was less capable of forming a sound opinion. What Shakespeare, *A. C.* i 5 73, calls "My salad days, When I was green in judgement."

l. 32. incontinence, unchastity. Milton specifically defends himself from such a charge in his *Apology against a Pamphlet called A Modest Confutation*, etc., published in 1642 (See Masson, *Life*, ii. pp. 398 *et seqq.*), and again in his *Defensio Secunda*, published in 1654 (see Masson, *Life*, i 658).

of the Church

ll. 3, 4. one who serves court-cupboard one who not only helps in the service of the Church, but takes part in serving repasts, etc. A court-cupboard was a sort of movable sideboard, without doors or drawers, on which was displayed the plate of the household, flagons, cups, etc. Cp *R. J.* i 5 8, "Away with the joint stools, remove the court-cupboard."

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Milton could hardly believe the treatise to be written by one such a position.

ll. 30, 1. the puritanical...manners, the rough manners affected by the Puritans.

l. 32. Prelacy, a 'Prelate' is literally nothing more than 'one set above others,' from Lat. *prælatas*, set above, but the term was restricted to mean 'a church dignitary,' 'bishop,' and Prelacy is his system of church government by bishops.

l. 33. discovers, exhibits, allows to be seen.

P. 12, ll. 2, 3. that can enrich...knowledge, which is able to bestow all knowledge and the powers of declaring that knowledge.

ll. 3-5. sends out...pleases, by means of his angels purifies the minds of those whom he chooses as his agents and interpreters, and inspires them with his will. Seraphim, a Hebrew plural, from which we get the English word *seraph*; said to mean 'high' or 'exalted,' the seraphim being angels of the highest rank in the angelic order.

l. 7. all seemly...affairs, all studies and matters of a becoming and noble character.

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l. 32. incontinence, unchastity Milton specifically defends  
*aphel-t*  
*as-on,*  
*unda,*

P. 13, ll. 2, 3 some chaplain in hand, some petty subordinate who is being trained up for the priesthood. some squire prelate, some mere personal attendant upon his bishop, whose duties are rather those of a lackey than of an ordained minister of the Church.

ll. 3, 4. one who serves court cupboard, one who not only helps in the service of the Church, but takes part in serving repasts, etc. A court-cupboard was a sort of movable sideboard, without doors or drawers, on which was displayed the plate of the household, flagons, cups, etc Cp *R. J. i. 5. 5*, 'Away with the joint stools, remove the court-cupboard'

ll. 4, 5. he will bestow himself, he is determined to give us an outline of his acquirements and capacities. model, used both of the pattern of something to be made, and also of the representation in little of something greater already in existence.

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ound sound, a solution also seen in the Ital  
sica, tisis.

l. 6. wherever he had them, picked up heaven only knows  
where; again emphasizing Milton's scorn.

ll. 6, 7. hopping short ... fits, which fail to reach the point at  
which they aim, just as some poor wretch, racked with con-  
vulsive fits, fails to make his way to the point to which he  
would guide his steps; in the measure is probably used in a  
twofold sense, (1) = according to the manner and method, (2)  
with a sarcastic reference to the word in the sense of a stately  
dance.

ll. 7-10. in which ... posies, and in the throes of giving birth  
to his ideas, his wit, nearly perishing, produces, instead of  
shapely and well-balanced periods, a mere farrago of such empty  
adages as are to be seen engraved upon rings; the figure is that  
of a woman in childbirth, the throes of which nearly kill her,  
and whose infant owing to the extremity of her agony comes  
forth not well-formed and healthy but distorted and incomplete.  
The thumb-ring of former days was a plain broad gold ring which  
grave persons used to wear on the thumb; Nares quotes i. H. IV.  
ii. 4. 365, "I could have crept into any alderman's thumb-ring,"  
and Glapthorne's *Wit in a Constable*, "An alderman—I may say  
to you, he has no more wit than the rest of the bench, and that  
lies in his thumb-ring." The posies, i.e. poetical mottoes, were  
common not only upon rings but upon swords, knives, chimneys,  
etc.: Cp. *M. V.* v. 1. 148, 151, "a paltry ring That she did give  
to me, whose *posy* was For all the world like cutler's poetry Upon  
a knife, 'Love me and leave me not.'"

ll. 9, 10. this section ... himself, this section of his work in  
which he only anatomizes himself for our behalf and amuse-  
ment.

l. 13. that hell . frown. from *Paradise Lost*, ii. 718, 9, "So  
frown'd the mighty combatants, that Hell Grew darker at their  
frown."

l. 14. Reading, in Berkshire, captured by Essex, the Parlia-  
mentary general, in 1643.

l. 15. Whitsuntide, the time of Whitsunday, or White Sunday,  
as it was originally written (another name for Pentecost), a word  
supposed to have been derived from the *white garments* used in  
baptisms and ordinations frequent at that season. For a fuller  
account, see Skeat, *Ety. Dict.* s. v. Whitsunday.

l. 17. a justice of the peace, the title given to persons of posi-  
tion and credit appointed to maintain the peace in the counties  
in which they reside. The Powells lived at Forest Hill, not far  
from the old Forest of Shotover, about four miles from Oxford.

ll. 20, 1. spare. study, what Wordsworth calls "plain living and high thinking."

l. 21. to have her company, to be allowed to have her to stay with them.

l. 22. Michaelmas, the feast of St. Michael, September 29th.

ll. 23, 9. Lady Margaret Leigh, or Ley, one of the daughters of James Ley, first Earl of Marlborough, a title conferred upon him by Charles in 1626-7. Lady Margaret married a Captain Holcon, and both she and her husband seem to have taken the Parliamentary side. Milton addresses his tenth Sonnet to this lady.

l. 33. had no answer, received no answer.

ll. 34, 5. It could miscarry, i.e. in order that the excuse might not be made that his letters had never reached her.

P. 14, l. 2. Cavaliers, and therefore hostile to a man of Milton's principles.

l. 5. repudiate, put away as wife.

ll. 8, 9. The Doctrine of Divorce, the first edition of the former of these two tracts was published Aug. 1st, 1643, not, as Johnson says, in 1644, the 2nd edition in Febr. 1643-4; and the second tract in July 1644. Regarding the former tract, Mason (*Life*,

l. 10. Tetrachordon, Greek for 'of the four strings' a title chosen by Milton for the third of his four treatises on Divorce. It appeared in March 1644-5, and its sub-title was "Expositions upon the four chief places in Scripture which treat of Marriage or nullities in Marriage," it is referred to in Sonnets 11 and 12.

l. 12. innovation, i.e. of putting away a wife without the



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l. 19. Icon Basillike, i.e. Royal Image, or "Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings," a work written by Dr. Gauden, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, but universally attributed to Charles himself.

l. 20. Latin Secretary, in March, 1649, immediately after the constitution of the first Council of State, with Bradshaw for its President, the Secretaryship for Foreign Tongues, or Latin Secretaryship, a special and independent office, instituted by the Council itself, chiefly in view of expected correspondence between the Commonwealth and Foreign Powers, was offered to and accepted by Milton.

l. 21. to censure, to criticize and expose.

l. 22. Sidney's *Arcadia*, a famous romance published by Sidney in 1590. The prayer is that made by the afflicted Pamela in the third book, near the beginning. "In explanation, however," says Masson (*Life*, iv. 138, 9), "it ought to be added that the Prayer in question is not one of those that occur in the *Eikon Basillike* proper, ... but is one of a few that were appended to some of the earlier and more expensive editions of the book" ...

l. 23. Iconoclastes, i.e. Image Breaker, an answer to the *Eikon Basillike*, published in October 1649. "In one thing," says Milton in his Preface, "I much commend his openness who gave the title to his book, *Eikon Basillike*, that is to say *The King's Image*, and by the shrine he dresses out for him certainly would have the people come and worship him. For which reason this answer also is entitled *Eikonoklastes*, the famous surname of many Greek emperors who, in their zeal to the command of God, after long tradition of idolatry in the Church, took courage and broke all superstitious Images to pièces."

l. 24. indecent, sc. in its violence and harshness.

l. 28. pop, indicating haste and perhaps secrecy.

l. 29. relique, or 'relic,' a memorial, especially the memorial of a saint.

l. 30. exercises, prayers and meditations; the word in this sense of devotional occupation, performance of religious duties, was very common in Elizabethan English.

l. 32. Dr. Juxon, ex-bishop of London, who attended the King in his last days and at his execution.

ll. 33, 4. were at least ... prayer, if they really found this prayer among the king's papers, they at least are answerable for having made it known to the world.

l. 36. The use ... innocent, if the king was guilty of adapting this prayer from Sidney's *Arcadia*, there was nothing heinous in doing so.

To - 2 11 1 2 with 2 more paragraphs

l. 4. being now sheltered, having found shelter and protection from his enemies.

l. 5. Salmastius, Claude de Saumaise, a Frenchman, born in 1588 at this time residing at Leyden in Holland and now at

l. 8. Jacobuses, a gold coin worth 25s sterling coined in the reign of James the First, Jacobus being Latin for James; Milton in his Epigram *In Salmanum Hundredam* makes merry over this bribe.

ll. 9, 10 sagacity criticism, skill and clear-sightedness in emending by conjecture passages in the classical writers which had been carelessly copied from the original MSS

l. 15. expedition, celerity

l. 16. *Defensio Regis*, the exact title of this book was *Defensio Regis pro Carolo I.* It appeared in Holland in 1649, and contained a bitter attack on the English Commonwealth.

l. 17 a sufficient answer, Milton's answer, entitled *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano contra Claudii Salmasii Defensionem Regiam*, was published in the end of 1650, or the beginning of 1651.

ll. 18 20 that Hobbes worst, Johnson, to whom of course Milton's reasoning was unpalatable, is glad to be able to cite the opinion of an great and learned as Hobbes. His words are

l. 22. *teizing* has somewhat of a stronger sense than the modern word now spelt 'teazing'

l. 25. *Salmacis*, a very clear fountain in Caria, fabled to render soft and effeminate all who drank of it, see Ovid, *Met.* iv. 256.

ement.

top of Derry and afterwards Arcl  
let was, however, by one Row  
living at Rotterdam.  
pected, i.e. the real authorship

this pamphlet, of which the full t  
*ad Calum adversus Parricidas Ang*  
blood to Heaven against the Englis  
anonymously at the Hâgue in 16  
so pungent, and contained such  
ial character, that he could not let  
ferred" (*P. IV. i. 39*).

a 'prebend,' from Lat. *præbenda*,  
erson from a public source, is a  
ance by a member of a cathedral  
one who holds office among the c

are of its publication, being entrus  
ing it out.

unda, published in 1654. "While  
ter in this Reply, Milton made i  
English Nation; and hence it is  
*Angli pro populo Anglicano Defensio*  
f John Milton, Englishman, for the  
torically and autobiographically, it i  
g of Milton's pamphlets. It cont  
memorable panegyric on Cromwe  
Bradshaw, Fleetwood, Lambert, V  
ers. Milton assumes throughout t  
k to which he was replying was a  
or Morus, a Frenchman of Scottish  
olland; and the license he gives himse  
this Morus is something frightful"

shrink ... tempest, could no longer en  
ve poured upon him.

pride, which made him ashamed to o  
g as to the authorship of the pamphle  
tement made in his *Πάρεργα*, *Poematu*  
n 1670; but Morus, though dreadfully

on hearing of Milton's last illness, p. 6.  
 further "  
*Clamor*;  
*Se. Defensio*  
 to the an  
 and was  
 had not  
 v. 222)

I. 31. *deserimur . . . salutaris*, see Johnson's translation on the next page.

*Footnote.* It may be doubted . . . *gloriosus*, the word, though used in a good sense of things, actions, etc., is not, at all events in Latin of the Augustan age, applied in such a sense to men.

P. 22, l. 17. the perpetual dictatorship, after having been appointed dictator at various times and for various periods from one to ten years, he was, B.C. 45, invested with the title of imperator for life.

II. 17, 8. the coalition society, that combination which makes use of the word *societas* is the  
 y used of the  
 h an implied  
 n the passage  
*societas* is the

II. 18, 9. agreeable to, in harmony, accordance with.

I. 21. achieved, an older speaking of *achieved*, the *t* having no proper place in the word, which is from the O F *acherer*, *acherer*, to accomplish, formed from the phrase *venir a chef*, to come to the end, to attain one's object, Lat. *ad caput venire*.

I. 26. wanted defence, needed defending

I. 27. found leisure himself, in a pamphlet entitled *Joannis Miltoni Angli pro se Defensio contra Alexandrum Morum*, i.e. *Defence of John Milton, Englishman, for himself, against Alexander More*, being an answer to More's Tract called *Fides Publica*, followed by a *Supplementum*, to which latter Milton replied in his *Authoris ad Alexandrum More Supplementum*, i.e. the Author's reply to Alexander More's *Supplement*, annexed to the *Defensio*.

I. 29. justly *Clamor*, &c. in having had the care of its publication.

II. 31, 2. *Morus est?* are you rightly called *Morus* or *Momus*,

are the two identical? *Morus* means not only a mulberry tree, but a fool, and *Momus* is the god of mockery.

P. 23, ll. 1, 2. the known transformation, referred to by Pliny.

ll. 3, 4. *Poma ... Morus*, the mulberry tree which once bore white fruit, afterwards produced black fruit, i.e. with the suggestion that *Morus* though he might once have been a reputable person had now ceased to be so—in allusion to a low intrigue which he had been accused.

l. 8. As secretary, in his capacity as secretary.

l. 11. artfully, with the object of obtaining further advantages.

l. 12. indisposition, ill health.

ll. 12, 3. the Swedish agent, the plenipotentiary entrusted by the Swedish Court with the arrangement of the treaty. provoked, i.e. by the delay.

l. 17. external interruptions, sc. of controversial writing.

l. 20. an epick poem, the actual composition of *Paradise Lost* believed to have been begun during the last year of Cromwell's protectorate: the history of his country, this was a compilation on Caesar, Tacitus, Bede, the Saxon Annals, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Holinshed, Camden, etc., etc.

l. 21. a dictionary, he was getting together material for a *thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, collecting idioms, references, etc., and Johnson, himself a Dictionary maker, was well-capable of estimating the minute and wearisome work such a project entailed.

l. 26. always before him, sc. as a design he was anxious to carry out.

ll. 27, 8. discomposed, wanting in all arrangement.

ll. 33, 4. but with more skilful, except with, etc.

P. 24, ll. 6, 7. as he hints ... *Mansus*, ll. 80-4. "If I should ever recall into song the kings of my country, Arthur still from his under-ground stirring the warlike commotion, Or should tell of those leagued as Knights of his Table, Great-souled heroes unmatched, and (O might the spirit but aid me!) Shiver the Saxon phalanxes under the shock of the Britons!" (*Masson's* translation). For *Mansus* (Latin of *Manso*), see note, p. 7, l. 26.

l. 7, 8. Arthur was reserved ... destiny, "Fenton here refers to Mackmore's heroic poem of *Prince Arthur*, published in 1695; a poem once famous, but now forgotten" (*M. A.*).

l. 10. in a library at Cambridge, that of Trinity College.

ll. 11, 2. had digested .. *Mysteries*, had so far arranged his design as to have sketched out a play after the pattern of the old *mysteries*. These '*Mysteries*,' or as they were oftener called in England, '*Miracles*' or '*Miracle Plays*' were representations on the stage of religious events; though properly speaking the

Mysteries dealt with Gospel events only, the Miracle Plays with incidents derived from the legends of the Saints of the Church.

ll. 14, 5 beginning ... Sun, ll. 32-41 of *P. L.*, bk. iv.

P. 25, l. 3. *προλογίζα*, speaks a prologue or introduction; the verb 'prologize' is used by Ben Jonson, and 'epilogize' by Milton.

l. 4 corrupts not, is not liable to corruption, decay.

l. 5 Enoch and Elifah, who were carried up to heaven without experiencing death

l. 7, 8 exhorts God, urges mankind to raise their eyes, by purifying their hearts, to the contemplation of God.

l. 19. Lucifer, literally 'the light-bringer,' the title borne by Satan before his fall; in classical writings, the morning star, Venus.

l. 30. Mutes, dumb personages on the stage.

P. 26, l. 4. unparadised, driven out of Paradise, the Garden of Eden; literally a park, pleasure ground

l. 5 Gabriel, one of the three Archangels, called in *P. L.* iv. 550, "Chief of the angelic guards"

l. 6. frequency, constant visits.

ll. 12, 3 tracing office, roaming more at large in his capacity as one of the angelic guards.

ll. 14, 5. as the creation, as for instance the, etc

l. 18. discourse side, angry contention in words.

l. 22 relating what, boastfully relating what.

l. 23. to the destruction, towards bringing about the destruction, *sc.* by having successfully tempted Eve.

l. 24. confusedly, with shame; see *Genesis*, iii. 7, "And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons."

l. 25. in a shape, presented in visible form

l. 27. entertains the stage, occupies the stage and sings choral odes

l. 31 is stubborn offence, justifies his action in eating of the forbidden fruit.

l. 36. a mask, see note p. 5, l. 14

P. 27, l. 2 the Messiah, literally 'the Anointed One', Hebrew.

l. 4 the glory, *sc.* which is due to Him

l. 6 draught, we now write the word in this sense 'draft'

l. 8. in their seminal state, in their first seeds or beginnings pregnant, carrying on the metaphor in seminal.

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14, 5. Invention ... obstruct, in his Essay on Dryden, Ed. Jan. 1828, Macaulay speaks of Milton's blindness as prob- having stimulated and heightened his imaginative powers.

16, 7. his numbers, his poetry.

19. seemly arts and affairs, see note on p. 4, l. 11.

23. wanted, needed.

l. 28, 9. a manuscript ... Council, a manuscript given to Milton for a true copy by a learned man at his death" and which he thought it a kind of injury to withhold longer from the public."

1. 30. a Treatise ... Cases, this treatise, of which the full title is *A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes, showing that it is not lawful for any power on earth to compel in matters of Religion*, was addressed to Richard Cromwell's Parliament "in the hope that the adoption of its ideas, and consequently of a policy less favourable to Church-establishments than that of Oliver, might tend to the popularity of the New Protectorate and to the preservation of the Cromwell Dynasty" (Masson, *P. W.* i. 44). "This was followed in August 1659 by 'Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of the Church,' etc. ... Johnson seems to confuse these two pamphlet and make them into one. Probably, however, he originally wrote 'gratified his malevolence to the clergy by a treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes' and 'The means of removing Hirelings out of the Church'" (Firth).

ll. 30, 1. the Means ... Church, see note, p. 4, l. 11.

l. 23. extemporary government, system of government vised to meet the exigencies of the time.

P. 28, l. 2. Toland, John (1670-1722), a chief leader of the English Deists, who published a life of Milton in 1698.

... hated hope, lost nothing of courage or hope; from ... I argue not Against Heaven's hand or ... but still bear up and steer

l. 14 by rotation, each of the members being given supreme power in his turn. The *Rota* was the name of Harrington's political club here referred to.

ll 14, 5. kicking strike, i.e. using such means of annoyance as still remained in his power.

l. 17. Griffiths, or Griffith, as his name really was, was a clergyman who had taken refuge with the King through the Civil Wars. On Sunday, the 25th of March 1660, he preached a strong Royalist sermon in the Mercers' Chapel, and afterwards published it.

l. 21 by his office, in virtue of his being Secretary.

ll 24-6 proportioning writings, attaching to his writings an importance in the eyes of the world which they no longer possessed, and so exaggerating the danger to which they exposed him.

l. 27. West Smithfield, formerly the great cattle market of London, which in 1852 was transferred to Copenhagen Fields.

l. 36 Act of Oblivion, the Bill of General Indemnity and Oblivion was brought into the Commons on the 9th of May 1660, and passed on the 29th of August. should except, should mention by name as excepted from the pardon conferred by the Bill. Johnson in this phrase except except seems to be translating the legal term *exceptis excipendis*.

P. 29, l. 4 he had only done, Johnson apparently means this as a sneer.



1. 30. married, February 24, 1662-3; his bride was a relation of Dr. Paget's, and only twenty-four years of age. She made Milton an excellent wife, and survived him many years.

1. 32. of his happiness; of such happiness as fell to his lot.

11. 35, 6. oppressed ... death, Phillips's statement does not amount to this, though no doubt Mrs. Milton exercised over them a control of which they were much in need; the second assertion is entirely false. Though it was clearly Milton's intention that his widow should have all the personal property left by him, the daughters inheriting only the portion due to Milton from the estate of Mr. Powell, his first wife's father, yet, they having disputed their father's intentions, it was decided, on technical grounds, that the widow should have two-thirds of the property left by Milton and the daughters one-third among them. This amount was accordingly paid to them.

P. 31, l. 2. his employment, *sc.* as Latin Secretary. The story comes to us through Richardson, who had heard it on what he thought to be good authority, but it is incredible that Charles could have made the offer of such a post to the author of *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* and of *Eikonoklastes*.

1. 9. purely ministerial, the service of a mere subordinate clerk.

11. 11, 2. are among ... falsehood, are tales such as are commonly circulated without their having any foundation in fact.

1. 15. the new settlement, government as established by the restoration of the king.

1. 19. Accidence ... Grammar, Accidence developed into Grammar; *accidence* properly deals only with the accidents or inflections of words, and is therefore nothing more than the rudiment of grammar; for *Commenced*, see note, p. 20, l. 14. Milton's title was "Accidence Commenc't Grammar," and the volume, the substance of which, as Masson thinks, had probably "been lying among Milton's manuscripts since the days of his pedagogy" at Aldersgate Street and Barbican, was published in 1669.

11. 26, 7. for the advantage of his conversation, in order that he (Elwood) might profit from intercourse with him (Milton). Elwood, the son of a small squire at Crowell in Oxfordshire. Much to his father's disgust through acquaintance with Pennington, a neighbour, he had turned Quaker, and coming to London was by Dr. Paget, a friend of Pennington's, introduced to Milton.

1. 28. Hartlib, see note, p. 4, l. 7.

1. 29. with an English mouth, as pronounced by English is as ill ahearing, is as unpleasant to listen to.

l. 30. Law French, the jargon of Norman-French terms still to be found in law books.

l. 33. use, advantage.

P. 32, l. 5. There is little countries, a piece of Johnson's conservatism against which arguments of a weightier character have at length to some extent at all events prevailed.

l. 6 by his attendance, by attending to Milton's directions as to pronunciation

l. 7. curious, nice, accurate

l. 9 open, explain; a translation of the Latin *aperire*.

l. 11. Bunhill Fields, in Artillery Walk, leading to Bushill Fields, opposite to the wall of the Artillery ground, or exercising-place of the old London Trained Bands, and near to the present Bunhill Row

l. 14. He was now Lost, Milton had resumed the idea of *Paradise Lost* before the close of the Second Protectorate. He began the poem seriously in 1658, probably concluded the two first books before the Restoration, went on with it in Jewin Street and Bunhill, and had finished it by the middle of 1665.

l. 18. a farce, the reference is to a Scriptural drama entitled *Adamo* by a certain Giovanni Battista Andreini. On this subject generally, see Introduction

l. 29 survey of his attainments, mental reckoning up of the stores of learning and observation which he had accumulated.

ll. 31, 2. long chusing, late, "Since first this subject for heroic song Pleased me, long choosing and beginning late," P. L. iv 25, 6. In *The Reason of Church Government*, Book II. Introd. at ch. 31. Milton gives a long account of the process of composition.

suitable for dramatic treatment, such treatment being that which had suggested itself to him when first meditating a work which he trusted his country would not willingly let die

P. 33, l. 1. episodes, stories introduced into the main story; Gk. *ἐπεισόδιον*, a coming in besides, something inserted into the main action of a drama. accumulate, store up in his mind.

l. 7. stations, offices

ll. 7, 8 he is yet retirement, he is still a man occupying so large a space in the public eye that records of his private life at the time have been discovered by the minute search of his admirers.

l. 13 parts, mental endowments quality, rank

l. 16. Wood, author of *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

l. 19. cloaths, cloth, as we should now say.

ll. 20, 1. chalkstones, "a concretion chiefly of sodium urate resembling chalk, occurring in the tissues and joints, esp. of the feet and hands, in severe gout" (Murray, *Eng. Dict.*).

ll. 23, 4. the common exercises, sc. of walking and riding.

ll. 31, 2. This gave ... reports, as to his being engaged on the poem.

l. 34. composure, composition; the word in this sense, never very common, has not been in use for the last hundred years. Jonson *Cynthia's Revels*, i. 1, writes, "It is the same that Demosther usually drunk in the *composure* of all his exquisite and melodious orations," though in the next speech he uses "compositions" in the same sense.

P. 34, l. 1. parcels, small portions; Lat. *particula*, diminutive of *pars*, a part.

ll. 3, 4. by whatever ... next, by any one who chanced to be at hand.

l. 6. his vein, his poetical fancy; a figure taken from mines.

ll. 9, 10. though he courted ... much, however much he might woo the Muse, try to stimulate his poetic powers; never much, this use of *never* where we should now use *ever* is very common in Elizabethan English, and was often due to a confusion of constructions.

l. 14. his Elegies, the term is used by Milton for all his Latin poems written in elegiac metre, i.e. alternate hexameters and pentameters, whether the subjects were properly elegiac, reflective, mournful, or not.

ll. 15, 6. redeunt ... vires, *Elegia Quinta*, l. 5, *Fallor? an nobis redeunt in carmina vires?* Am I mistaken, or do my powers of composing return to me also? i.e. in the same way as he has just spoken of the powers of the earth being repaired by the advent of spring.

ll. 16, 7. To this ... marked, to this may be added that "the same fact is stated by Aubrey; to whom Phillips had mentioned it verbally (1680) many years before printing it himself" (Mason, *P.* ii. 73).

l. 26. the fumes of vain imagination, vapours born of morbid fancy.

l. 27. Sapiens .. astris, the wise man will be master of the constellations; a saying ascribed to one of the Ptolemies; allusion to the astrological belief in the influence of the planets upon a man's life and actions.

l. 28 weather-bound, literally, prevented by adverse winds from putting to sea; figuratively restrained from writing freely. hellbore, which by the ancients was supposed to cure mental delusion. Cp Bacon, *Essay of Friendship*, "A principall Fruit of Friendship . . . Confession."

l. 32 possunt . . . videntur, things are possible to us because they seem possible, Virgil, *Aeneid*, v. 231.

l. 33. enforced, stimulated, urged forward.

l. 34. cross, adverse, thwarting.

l. 35. given up, abandoned to idleness

P. 35, l. 4. decrepitude, *decrepit* is from the Lat *decrepatus*,

pp. 35.

l. 11. wanders world, is current among mankind in a vague shape.

ll 12, 3 restrains regions, declares that such and such exertions of the intellect are possible in such and such regions only.

ll 16-8. when he feared imagination The allusion is to *P.L.*, ix. 44-6, "unless an age too late or cold Climate, or years, damp my intended wing Depressed See also *The Reason of Church Government*, "If to the instinct of nature and the emboldening of art aught may be trusted, and that there

be nothing adverse in our climate, or the fate of this age," etc. (Book ii. Introduction.)

ll. 26-8. for general causes ... power, the general causes which should affect him so powerfully as to render him incapable of producing anything great, would affect also the powers of those who had to estimate his productions.

l. 30. frosty grovellers, degenerate race whose minds, chilled into numbness, would grovel in obscurity.

ll. 31, 2. which they ... die, which they would so cherish as to preserve it from oblivion; again from the Introduction to Book ii. of *The Reason*, etc. Milton's words are, "I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes as they should not willingly let it die."

ll. 34, 5. in the dwindle of posterity, as future ages became more and more mentally dwarfed in comparison with his own. The substantive dwindle is almost obsolete now.

l. 36. pygmies, fabulous dwarfs on the upper Nile of the height of a πύγμα, i.e. the distance from the elbows to the knuckles, about 13 inches. Cp. Homer, *Iliad*, iii. 2-7, "like unto birds, even as when there goeth up before heaven a clamour of cranes which flee from the coming of winter and sudden rain, and fly with clamour towards the streams of Ocean, bearing slaughter and fate to the Pigmy men, and in the early morn offer cruel battle" (translation by Lang, Leaf and Myers); and Milton, *P. L.* i. 575, 6, "that small infantry Warred on by cranes." The word is now more commonly but less accurately spelt 'pigmy': the one-eyed ... blind, an allusion to the proverb "Among the blind, the one-eyed man is King."

P. 36, l. 1. artifices of study, here artifices is little more than 'methods,' and has nothing of the commoner modern sense of 'stratagem,' 'cunning device.'

l. 4. discovers, shows, manifests.

l. 8. æstrum, the Lat. *æstrus*, Gk. *αἰστρος*, was literally the gad fly, horse-fly, and figuratively wild desire, especially the frenzy of a prophet or poet.

l. 9. to secure what came, to preserve, by writing them down the thoughts which thus impetuously inspired him. The question how far his daughters acted as his amanuenses is one which has not been fully cleared up, but that they were not his only or even his chief helps in this matter is certain.

l. 12. involutions of darkness, periods when his inventive faculty shrunk back into itself, collapsed.

l. 15. train, usual order.

l. 20. his hand is out, his hand forgets its cunning, is not in unison with his brain and eye.

l. 21. relation, narrative. casually conveyed, given in an off-hand, casual, manner, not stated with emphatic purpose. regard, attention, belief

ll. 24, 5. were never. . . write, this is not accurate; the eldest could not write, the second could write tolerably well, and the youngest still better.

l. 29. reducing his exuberance, pruning and cutting down his verses so as to strengthen them. Similar stories are told of Virgil, among other poets.

l. 31. gratuitously, without authority for the statement.

l. 35. disturbed, i.e. in the busier hours of the daytime

l. 36. his unpremeditated verse, *P. L.* ix. 24.

P. 37, ll. 1, 2 the distresses of rhyme, the inconveniences and limitations which rhyme involves

l. 3. adjusted, attuned to the subject.

l. 6. cannot. known, cannot be known except in certain particular cases; such as Johnson goes on to state

(*P. L.* vii. 258). offended, grieved and shocked "Round a Court which set an example of shamelessness, London and the general English world were whirled, by a rebound from the extreme Puritan strictness that had been in fashion, into an  
 swagging,  
 of a proper  
 not a proper

l. 11. notes of time, marks by which we can ascertain at what particular times particular parts of the poem were composed

l. 12. effects, results, consequences

l. 15. skulked, hid himself away, now more usually spelt *skulled*. The word is here used in an unnecessarily contemptuous manner; Milton had only too sufficient reason to dread the king's return, only too little reason to hope for mercy at the hands of a party so mortally offended and so thirsting for vengeance.

ll. 16, 7. for no sooner danger. Johnson is here apparently  
 the first not of in note on ll. 8, 9,  
 re written  
 conding to  
 g. A. A. A. A.

## LIFE OF MILTON.

though he had escaped the talons of the law," and even if  
 er were past it was not likely that calumny would cease.  
 19, 20. had his eyes ... employed, if he had not, while he  
 ined his sight, been employed in defending the commonwealth  
 attacking the monarchy.  
 1. 22. regicides, murderers of the king; the word, like  
 urricule, etc., is used both of the concrete actor and the  
 abstract act.

1. 24. impudence, effrontery, shameless disregard of truth.

1. 26. spared, failed to employ.

1. 29. Indicrous, involving ridicule.

1. 34. the wit, the man of intellect.

P. 38, l. 1. Chalfont in Bucks, a village in Buckinghamshire,  
 about three and twenty miles from London.

1. 3. Thou, the phraseology of the Quakers.

1. 7. design. made arrangements for.

1. 9. a chaplain ... Canterbury, who was the official licenser,  
 and was not likely to be well disposed towards one who had  
 written with such bitterness against prelacy. By the Press Act  
 of May 1662 the duty of licensing books of general literature had  
 been assigned to the Secretaries of State, the Archbishop of  
 Canterbury and the Bishop of London, but it was chiefly per-  
 formed for them by a staff of under-licensers, paid by fees. In  
 the present case the licenser was the Rev. Thomas Tomkyns,  
 then domestic chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

ll. 12, 3 the simile book, P. L. i. 394-9. These lines seem  
 very little open to the charge of "treason" objected against  
 them, and, as Masson says, "One would think that Tomkyns  
 might have found passages more dangerous to Church and  
 State."

1. 13. copy, copyright.

1. 14. Samuel Simmons, a small bookseller in Aldersgate  
 Street.

1. 15. to receive, we should now say, "that he should receive."  
 1. 21. was ten books, consisted of ten books.

1. 23. arguments, synopses of the contents.  
 1. 29. by a division twelfth. what Johnson really mea-  
 that bks. vii. and x. were divided so that the second half  
 former formed (with three additional prefatory lines) the  
 book, and the second half of the latter (with five addition-  
 fatory lines) formed the twelfth book.

1. 32. to devolve, i.e. to revert to her, as her husband

from Simon. Even the dead, however, it does not appear that any such review was contemplated.

l. 75. Erasmus Aymer, a bookseller in Cornhill who later on published Milton's *Farewell Letter*.

P. 32, l. 2. a detraction, a trawling of the progress made by the book.

l. 8. late reception, the begin of time that elapsed before it was actually received.

l. 12. no public acclamations, no loud welcome from the public in general.

l. 12, 3. With a Court, all the men of the time who were famous for wit and learning belonged to the king's party.

l. 14. solicited ... fashion, hoped to win the king's favour or the reputation of being men of fashion.

l. 16. reverential silence, abstinence from any criticism which was due to the reverence felt for a man of such genius.

l. 20. will justify the public, will show that the public were not stupidly insensible to the great merits of the poem.

l. 21. call, demand.

l. 24. often, in many cases.

ll. 25, 6. The women, womankind.

l. 27. a closet of knowledge, a library.

l. 28. professed learning, followed learning as a profession.

ll. 34, 5. two editions. Shakespeare the first folio was published in 1623, the second in 1632, and the third in 1664.

P. 40, l. 2. a style of versification, a blank verse. Even Dryden thought that *Paradise Lost* would have been much finer if written in blank verse.

upon the  
in such  
mission to  
Ay, you

l. 3. disgusting distasteful; a negative rather than a positive sense, such as the word now bears.

l. 4. the prevalence of genius, the powerful effect produced upon people by Milton's genius.

ll. 8, 9 its admirers' opinion, and therefore the work could not make that way which it would have made had they spoken out. This, however, is not the fact. The fullest admiration was accorded to the poem from numerous quarters; and, among others, Dryden never lost an opportunity of publicly extolling its merits.



LIFE OF  
the means ... ranks, i.e. books nowadays help to  
other books.  
But the reputation ... advanced, in 1680 or 1681 the  
unions, who had then acquired the entire copyright of  
*Lost*, sold the future copyright to Brabazon Aylmer for  
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half of the copyright, again "at an advanced price," and  
his nephew having later on obtained possession by pur-  
the copyright of Milton's entire works, had a monopoly  
sale till 1731. Copyright at the time of these purchases  
considered perpetual, but in 1709 the first general Copyright  
nullified this perpetuity, and holders of existing copyrights  
England and Scotland were secured undisturbed possession of  
only for twenty-one years after the 10th of April, 1710.  
5. put an end ... love, made it unnecessary for readers to  
all the admiration they felt. This secrecy, as has been  
ed out, was a piece of Johnson's imagination.  
19-21. marked ... silence, saw his fame stealthily making  
way in spite of the fear which kept men from openly avowing  
r admiration.

31. caught, we now use the 'strong' preterite.  
32, 3. as well ... as, not only ... but, both ... and.  
33. oblige him, do him a kindness.  
36. her bodily infirmity, she was both lame and deformed.  
P. 41, ll. 5, 6. the Hebrew ... the Syriac, etc., i.e. in the  
Hebrew, Syriac, etc., languages.  
1. 7. confined, obliged, tied down.  
1. 14. proper, suitable. This seems to have been the judicious  
arrangement of their stepmother whereby they should learn  
occupation likely to be of use to them in earning a livelihood.  
1. 22. wanted, lacked, been without.  
1. 26. the whole fable, i.e. fabulous account. Geoffrey of  
mouth (1110-1154), Bishop of St. Asaph's, author of the *Chroni-*  
*sire Historia Britonum*. See note on p. 23, l. 20.  
1. 30. strike, be impressive.  
1. 32. fixed his claws, Johnson's comparison of the licentious  
ravenous bird of prey indicates his sympathy in this matter  
with one most of whose opinions he so cordially detested.  
1. 36. Long Parliament, which sat from 1640 to 1653. Ass  
of Divines, see note on p. 14, l. 13.  
P. 42, ll. 1. 2. the earl of Anglesea, "the same who, under  
former name of Mr. Arthur Annesley, had been the chief-m

many others, were among the visitors to Milton at this time

ancients *Samson Agonistes*, therefore," says Masson, "was offered to the world as a tragedy avowedly of a different order from that which had been established in England. It was a tragedy of the severe classic order, according to the noble Greek model which had been kept up by none of the modern nations, unless it might be the Italians. In reading it, not Shakespeare, nor Ben Jonson, nor Massinger, must be thought of, but Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides" (*l'c* II. ii. 594).

l. 20. Elwood, not Elwood but Phillips. His statement, however, does not go the length of Johnson's, for all he tells us is that "though *Paradise Regained* was generally censured to be much inferior to the other," Milton himself "could not bear with patience any such thing when related to him" (Masson, *Life*, vi. 655).

l. 22. had it to himself, was alone in feeling it

l. 32. a kind dignity, a kind of dignity which showed itself in his condescending to undertake work of so humble a nature

l. 33. controversialist, now more usually 'controversialist'

l. 34. to accommodate, to meet the wants of

Ramist side, he had compiled the material afterwards worked up into this Latin digest of the Ramist Logic

l. 6. oppugners, adversaries, attackers.

3. the means ... ranks, i.e. books nowadays help to  
other books.

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P. 42, ll. 1, 2. the earl of Anglesea, "the same who,  
former name of Mr. Arthur Annesley, had been the chief

of the Restoration along with Monk, and who had since been a member of Charles's Privy Council and one of the most active politicians through Clarendon's Administration and that of the Cabal" (*Mason, Life*, vi 637). He, Davenant, Aubrey, and many others, were among the visitors to Milton at this time.

1. 3. 5. *Samson Agonistes*. Incident occurred 1610. 1. Milton

words had contemplated two dramas, one on Samson's first marriage with a Philistian woman, and his feuds with the Philistines growing out of that incident; the other on the closing scene of Samson's life, when he took his final vengeance on the Philistines at their feast to Dagon. These subjects he has combined in his *Samson Agonistes*. In his preface to that drama he vindicates Tragedy from the small esteem "which in the account of many it undergoes at this day," points out the principles of construction

a tragedy of the severe classic order, according to the noble Greek model which had been kept up by none of the modern nations, unless it might be the Italians. In reading it, not Shakespeare, nor Ben Jonson, nor Massinger, must be thought of, but Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides" (*P. W.* ii 524).

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P. 43. 1. 4. Ramus, Peter Ramus, a distinguished logician of the University of Paris, who in 1543 published his *Institutiones Dialecticæ* in opposition to Aristotle's logic. Mason supposes

1. 6. opponents, adversaries